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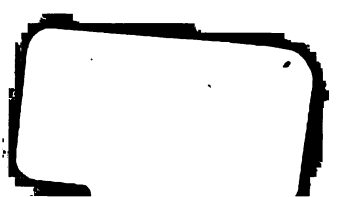

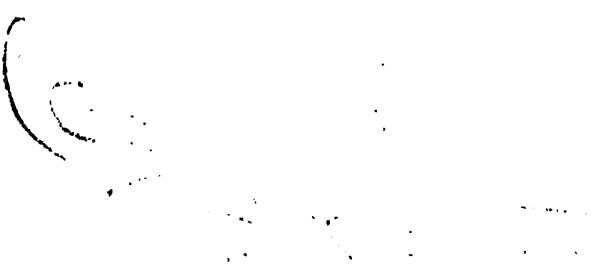

CANTERBURY

IN THE

Olden Time.

Second Edition—Enlarged,

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

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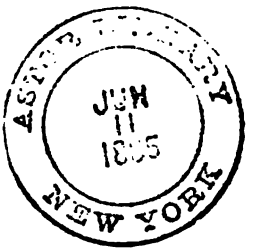

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

A first edition of "Canterbury in the Olden Time" having for some years been exhausted, and frequent inquiries having been made for the book, I felt I might venture upon a second edition, the more especially as I wished to introduce some interesting topics previously omitted, and to much enlarge upon others, such as "Ancient Canterbury," "Canterbury under the Romans," "Antiquities," &c.

I felt it incumbent on me also to give an account as far as I could from the information obtained of many interesting objects found from time to time in the city. Some of these I have sought to get faithfully illustrated, and to preserve, as far as possible, descriptions of buildings and establishments which have now either completely perished, or left such faint shadows of their existence as will in a short time inevitably pass away.

Engravings of ancient structures have been given by Dugdale, Grose, Stukely, and others; but most of the works in which they are illustrated are inaccessible but to a few. I have wished to place them together in a volume to which most readers can refer. Some of my illustrations I have been permitted to take from original drawings.

In endeavouring to give a notion of the sayings, doings, and opinions of the people in the "Olden Time," I have applied to certain original sources, collating my information by the opinions of contemporary writers.

The Records of the City afford an almost inexhaustible mine; but it was desirable to select and use such selection sparingly, lest by repetition of details the patience of the reader should be wearied.

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Canterbury in the Olden Time.

Introduction.

THE origin of Canterbury, not a town or a city so called, but a series of human dwellings collected together upon or beside the River Stour and its various branches, is sufficiently remote to afford ample grounds for speculation and inquiry.

Kent abounded in forests, which continuously stretched from the Blean, part of the great wood of Anderida, into Sussex.* Even the Isle of Thanet was formerly, according to Lewis †, thickly wooded. Men dwelling by the Stour, or by some concourse of waters which flowed between the chalk hills of Canterbury, had in remote ages their dwellings at or near the present site of Canterbury. "Durwhern" the Celts, Belgæ, or Britons, called their home; Caer Ceint, or "fortified city of Kent," was another designation. The Romans latinized Durwhern into Durovernum. Cantwarabyrig, the "City of the Cantii," or men of Kent, was the Anglo-Saxon name.

Were the earliest settlers influenced by that singular law which induced so many of the human race to establish their dwellings over shallow waters, or on comparatively placid lakes, as in Switzerland and in Ireland, or as certain tribes of Poenians did when they constructed habitations on Lake Prasias; ‡ or did they erect those singular earthworks once observable from the Dane John Mound, and with which they seemed in some degree connected, but which have now for some years been annihilated by the offices, buildings, and works of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway?

According to Lambard, § Canterbury is said to have been built by Lud Hudibras, in mythical times, doubtless

* Bede. † Tenet, p. 25. ‡ Herodotus.—Terpsichore, v. 16. § p. 262.

by a mythical founder. Looking back to a remote antiquity, a gloom which only one ray of light has pierced through, we find above the chalk deposit on which Canterbury stands the drift or bed of a river or rivers, the very outlines of which are lost. Herein is the existence of man revealed, in the manufacture of incised weapons and implements of stone of archaic character; and here also, often in juxtaposition with flint hatchets, grubbing tools, and knife flakes, we discover the tusks, the bones, and the teeth of the "elephas primigenius."

We must not deal with speculation; and although almost universally in the gravel beds in and about Canterbury these objects occur, they may have been rolled along, borne for some distance by the vast torrential streams of ancient days; and as the surface and levels of the land have altered considerably from time to time, all we can assume is, that the land was peopled in a remote era, and that Canterbury was, or might have been, a settlement or dwelling-place for man in an early stage of his existence.

At a much later period, then, settlers by the Stour, if they did not occupy its banks or waters as a species of lake dwellers, were undoubtedly attracted to its vicinity by the abundance of fish, the easiest mode of obtaining food in temperate seasons of the year, whilst the almost interminable woods which lay in its immediate vicinity rewarded, in colder seasons, the perseverance and skill of the hunter.

Kent being the nearest point of landing from the Continent would probably be the first land to be peopled, and probably its inhabitants, from possessing greater means of intercourse with other countries, would be the earliest to exhibit signs of civilisation and progress, unless we are to suppose there survived some of the descendants of that ancient and unknown race, the artificers in stone, who once composed the population of this land. But we must come, perhaps by a long leap, over a dark period of myth and uncertainty to historical times.

British and Celtic Canterbury.

More than two thousand years since, there seemed a strange impulse in the human race, urging vast masses of men, under their popular leaders, and even entire nations, suddenly to break up the homes of their forefathers, burn their dwellings, and march onward into a world new or comparatively unknown. Sometimes internal dissensions, sometimes external pressure, or some urgent necessity compelled this emigration, but not always.

We have the early irruption of the Keltoi of the Greek geographers, the Cymri,* probably the real ancestors of our old Northern stock; and hence perhaps the names of Cumberland and Cambria. These nations, doubtless urged by some powerful motive unknown to us, left the countries bordering on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, invaded Europe, and spread over its northern districts; then turning south and west surmounted the passes of the Alps and overran Italy itself. Here they received a defeat from Caius Marius, which stemmed for a time their progress, and hurled them back upon Central Europe.

They were succeeded by other waves of invasion, and the Goths, the Suevi, and the Huns, perhaps even kindred peoples, pressed upon and for a time occupied the fair provinces of the South.

In the meantime occurred the extraordinary movement of the Helvetii, described by Cesar in the Gallic war, Book 1. Burning their towns, destroying their villages, collecting the whole population of their people, gathering together all their rude wealth and moveables, compelling even small neighbouring tribes to join them, adding, we might suppose, rather an incumberance to their progress than giving strength to their aggression; onwards they marched to claim and possess themselves of new settle-

* Dr. Hook considers that the Celts merged into the Teutonic races, whether Saxons, Jutes, or Angles.—Vol. 3, p. 10.

ments, farther and farther, spoiling as they advanced the land of the Ædui.*

At length Roman arms and military tactics opposed them, and their battalions were broken and scattered. A portion only of this fierce and warlike people were permitted to retrace their steps. The Roman general having taken hostages and slaves and arms, a remnant of them was allowed to wander back and seek amongst the mountains of Switzerland their forsaken homes and deserted country, and, as Cesar knew they would then find a land without food or dwellings, he called upon the Allobrogi, allies of Rome, to furnish them with habitations and a scanty supply of necessaries.

In the camp of the Helvetii, Cesar records there were found tablets in the Greek language, giving the census of their populations and of their allies, and other statistical particulars,† thus offering an unexpected revelation of the wide-spread influence of Greek literature at this period of history.

Of British, Celtic, or Belgic Canterbury, or rather Canterbury before the advent of the Romans, we have few records.

There are the earth mounds round the city, which, if they date back beyond the Roman or Christian era, were probably constructed by some of the above ancient nations. The early age following the remote and obscure stone period was an age in which, if iron was at all known, bronze, from the facility of working it, was the metal most commonly utilised. Cesar tells us that the bronze the Britons used was of imported, not of native manufacture. The weapons and implements of this material commonly assigned to the Britons were swords, daggers, chisels, and axes, if the palstab and bronze Celt might come under the two latter denominations. The bronze sickle found in Ireland, in the north, and in Hungary, does not form an item in the catalogue of British implements, although we are told of the golden sickle of the Druids.

I might here note one or two bronze objects discovered in or near Canterbury—a palstab found a few years

* The Helvetii first went south to Lake Leman.
† De Bello Gallico, lib. 1, 29, p. 22.

since near Tyler Hill, and an interesting specimen of a bronze Celt from the Martyr's Field. See Plate 2, Fig. 6.

It has been contended by some, I do not think with much reason, that the bronze Celt was rather of Romano-British than of British manufacture. Made in this country these objects certainly were, even in Canterbury, several little blocks or pigs of bronze having been exhumed, the material of some native worker in bronze; and several instances have occurred in this county of the finding of the moulds in which these implements were cast, such as at Dover, Harty, Folkestone, &c. A bronze Celt, ornamented, was dredged up quite lately off the coast between Herne Bay and Reculver. Gold torques, bracelets, rings, armillæ, pendants, all of pre-Roman origin, have been found in the neighbourhood of this city, together with objects ornamented in enamel. We shall hereafter specially allude to the relics of the above descriptions, merely now referring to an ornament of a circular form described in Arch., 43 vol., pt. 1, p. 159, found in 1867-68, at the junction of Watling Street with Saint Margaret's Street, during excavations for sewage works under Mr. Pilbrow, C.E. It consisted of a series of plaques of green and red enamels, with perhaps some other colours almost obliterated. It was four inches across, of a circular form, with two projecting straight sides, beneath which were bars for affixing it to a strap. It might be assigned, perhaps, to a Celtic or Teutonic period. An example of horse ornaments from Nismes exhibits how intent the ancient warrior was in the adornment of his steeds. The "plaques," so called by M. Revoil, from whom I had the description and engravings, are circular, and designed with the figure of an horseman and other embellishments. I have also in my own collection two or three enamelled plaques, evidently of Celtic origin, and analogous in material to Mr. Pilbrow's ornament, found a few years since in excavations beneath the old tilt yard at Greenwich. They are of enamelled work, with a sort of labyrinthine pattern, strikingly like some of the illuminations in the frontispiece of the Book of Kells. They have been considered by a high authority to be late Celtic. Probably, as they have a hook-like appendage from the back, they might

be the ornaments attached to some drinking vessel, as we find a somewhat similar object was designed on examples of the Anglo-Saxon vat or liquor stoup. The enamels on the specimens in my possession are purple, green, and blood red. Another object, a brooch, or perhaps an appendage to some part of the dress, with a hook at the back of it, is also enamelled, and of similar material. It was found not very long since near Iron Bar Lane (see Plate 10, Fig. 3), and is evidently Celtic or Teutonic. I might also note the finding, during the digging out of the foundations of the New Church of St. Mary, Bredin, of a little earthen cup, of very archaic character, the material containing spiculæ of chalk or lime, apparently unbaked or sundried, a specimen of British pottery probably.

Tacitus, who claimed his information doubtless from Agricola, speaks of the Silures of Wales as being identical in size and complexion with the Iberi; and some authorities have supposed that the Britons of the so-called neolithic or polished stone period were a dark-haired, long-headed people, like the Basque races found in the north of Spain and in the south of France. Thus it has been asserted that Western Europe was once inhabited by an Iberic people, who were driven westward by a great invasion of the Celts, who poured through Central France, crossing the Alps, and invading Italy, a portion of whose ancient inhabitants they subjugated, if not expelled. Possibly a part also of the Celtic division of the Aryan people found their way into Britain, and there settled, until in their turn they were overwhelmed by more powerful races from the east and north of Europe. The Keltoi have been classed as a tall, fair, round-headed people; the Iberi were a small, swarthy, long-headed race.

I beg here to refer to Mr. H. C. Coote's learned and interesting work, the "Romans in Britain." Mr. Coote supports the views that the Kymry or Celts of Britain were the original inhabitants of this country, that is, as far as historical records can refer to — that these Kymry or Celts in Cesar's time had been driven into the far West by the Belgæ, the most warlike of the Gaulish nations. This nation, upon Cesar's testimony,

and upon other evidence, was of Teutonic origin. At the invasion of Cesar, the eastern and more midland parts of Britain were Teutonic. Anglesea, when the Celts were driven westward, became the head quarters of their institutions, a people over whose religious observances the Druids presided.

The Anglo-Saxons proper of Britain, according to Mr. Coote, were only an aristocratic caste, small in numbers, but rich.

The Danish kings introduced into England a Danish aristocracy. Harold and Godwin were members of this aristocracy.

The Roman colonists in Britain were numerous, as in Gaul and in Spain. In one respect I feel obliged to differ from Mr. Coote, namely, the supposed paucity of the numbers of the Anglo-Saxons and their comparative insignificance.

As far as the Jutish portion of that people are concerned, we have evidence that for some centuries they were dominant in Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight, and if extensive cemeteries containing some of the richest examples of workmanship and material, are tests of the importance of a people; they have left behind significant evidences of their superiority over most if not all their kindred tribes.

It has been suggested that the first eight of the Arabic numerals are of Runic character. Tacitus found Runes in use amongst the Anglo-Saxons, together with the practise of divination by means of twigs cut off a fruit-bearing tree.

Roman Canterbury.

ROMAN historians, geographers and poets, have made allusions to the Roman fortresses or fortified camps and havens in Kent, such as Regulbium, Rutupium and Portus Lemanis; but there is a singular absence of reference to Canterbury, Durovernum, or by whatever name it was then designated. Probably, the settlement assumed no great importance, although from the evidences of extensive cemeteries in its immediate neighbourhood and suburbs, the municipium must have contained a considerable Roman population. It united the great highways from the coast, on the road to Augusta (London), from Reculver, Richborough, and Lympne, as well as from the station at Dover.

We find no record, however, of any legion or portion of a legion ever being stationed at Canterbury; nevertheless it must have been a place of importance as a military position, and we can scarcely consistently deny but that Roman soldiers and auxiliaries must have been from time to time quartered at Canterbury. We have also reason to suppose it possessed a sort of municipal government * and a collegium or guild of knights in Roman times. From the remains of tessellated pavements, and the evidence derived from the finding of gold and other rings and trinkets, many of them undoubtedly once the property of the higher class of Roman citizens, there was no unimportant population occupying a space of ground in the very centre of the present city of Canterbury. Five burial grounds attest this fact.

Cesar however does not allude to Canterbury, probably he never saw it when it existed as a British settlement, and when repulsed in his invasion at Dover, he finally succeeded in effecting a landing at or near Folkestone, Lympne, or Hythe; he marched up the country, and first came in sight of the River Stour at or near Godmersham or Chilham.†

* See Sammes, p. 250, & Henschell, & 'Celt. Roman and Saxon,' p. 359.

† See The Antiquary, No. 69, vol. 3, in which I have given my reasons for believing that Cesar did not effect his landing at Deal.

The three great fortresses on the north east, on the E. S. E. and south of Kent, were sufficient probably for a time to secure the peace and tranquillity of the interior of the country, and hence the soldiers of the legions were but sparingly distributed amongst the inland towns; and Kent for three and a half centuries after the final conquest of England, A.D. 44, under the generals of Claudius, remained comparatively secure. The settlement at Canterbury enjoyed impunity from foreign invasion. The revolt of Roman generals and their usurpation of imperial authority, as under Carausius and others, probably little affected or interrupted the repose of the Romano-British population, now gradually increasing and prospering in Kent and in the neighbouring districts.

Battles there were, and insurrections in the northern and eastern counties, contentions with the Brigantes, the Iceni, and the Silures, and the misfortunes and adverse fate of Caractacus became consecrated by the admiration even of his enemies. The revolt of Carausius, more than two centuries after the subjugation of England, the presence of the Gallic fleet in the Straits of Dover, and the possession of Roman forts and harbours on the Kentish and southern coasts by the usurper, threatened indeed a serious civil war. The unexpected and peaceful issue of the struggle for a time, by the league and composition which the Roman Emperors Maximinius and Diocletian thought it prudent to make with Carausius, restored a peace and tranquillity scarcely broken for many years, as far as our southern county was concerned. A coin found in our own locality, representing the portraiture of the Emperors joining hands, informed the Roman world of an event by which Carausius became for a very brief period one of its masters. He was subsequently defeated and slain in Britain by Allectus.

Germans, Picts, Scots, Saxons, and other tribes, disowning the alliance of Rome, and conscious of the decline of her power, became in the north more and more formidable in their attacks. For a time they were successfully repressed, and in A.D. 370, Theodosius, a Roman general landing from Boulogne in Gaul, disembarked at Richborough, and marching through Kent, came upon the invaders at London. Here they suffered

a defeat, and great booty fell into the hands of the conquerors. Theodosius restored something like order to the province, and so far as his military power extended, maintained the ascendency of the Roman government. But Britain was speedily lost to Rome.* The enlistments by which the Roman generals mustered what levies they could obtain of the British or Romano-British youth were hardly voluntary. The Romans were pressed on every side by the northern or north-eastern invaders, and their final departure had the effect of leaving the now deserted population to spoliation and oppression. I may appear to have been anticipating, but this then was the period in which our Roman Canterbury was ruthlessly destroyed.

But what was the state of the "civitas," or community where Canterbury now stands, under the Roman domination?

With the exception of a portion of a wall adjoining or abutting upon the old church of St. Pancras, we have unfortunately no evidence of Roman masonry above ground. Even this wall is probably a reconstruction with Roman materials after the Roman manner. We are compelled then to look for such evidences of Roman occupation as may be left under ground, and this is pretty much what Somner told us two hundred and thirty years ago. These indications are few comparatively, and even these may mislead, for Canterbury, from the earliest era of the Norman times to the reign of the Tudors, was full of buildings dedicated to ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical purposes—churches, monasteries, priories, hospitals, leper houses, and almonries. Most of these structures have passed away, the cathedral, the gateway of St. Augustine, and the towers at Westgate almost alone remaining, the last, at times a fortress, a prison, and a hall of justice, the machicolated parapet, and the iron fastening of the drawbridge still existing to attest something of its ancient uses and designation.

We seek then underground our lost Durovernum. This *mansio*, *civitas*, or *statio* had an important part to play in ancient days, since it might be considered as the central point, at which met the Roman vias from the fortified

* 30 years later only, in the reign of Honorius.

places of Rutupium, Regulbium, and the Portus Lemanis.

At a period of at least 1,470 years since the later date of the occupation of Canterbury by Roman citizens, the level of the city has risen considerably. Eight feet at least below the present causeway, in the densest part of the city, and somewhat less in the suburbs, may be given as the level at which Roman remains and antiquities may be expected to be found. In the dark soil of refuse deposit, and of ancient drainage, sometimes within a few inches of the line of brick or tile dust, which in certain parts of Canterbury appear to have been the lining of the roads, lay the broken pottery, coins, the bone pins and implements, which the soil furnishes in places to the excavator. The mortuary urn, with its accompanying vessels, and such other articles as were deposited to grace or to consecrate the ashes of the dead, often lay in the cemeteries at a higher level, as the ground in which they were placed has been for ages comparatively undisturbed. Extensive drainage works, varying in depth from four to sixteen feet, through the streets of Canterbury and its suburbs, undertaken about fourteen years since, and subsequently on a much larger scale about ten years ago, revealed many evidences of Roman presence and occupation.

It is indeed to signs like these we must look for our chief clue to the labyrinths which unfold where once stood Roman Canterbury, and of what fashion and size it was. I was an observer of the works above alluded to.

There were at least two localities where the evidence of Roman walls or buildings to some extent were undoubtedly evident. The one was in St. Margaret's Street, the other in Sun Street. In Sun Street was a massive wall or bulwark, which seemed to trend away towards the Guildhall Street. Evidences of Roman sculpture, a cornice with chamfered mouldings, and three half roll mouldings lay in a line, though at some distance beyond this point in High Street, close to the present Medical Hall.

The Stour, that branch of it called the "King's river," was probably a boundary of the Roman town on this side, as the same river is some twenty miles lower down

of the Roman castrum of Richborough. Walls, however, hardly massive enough for Roman masonry, were found extending down part of Stour Street, bordering on the river, with a cross wall in one place. In Lamb Lane, just before we enter Stour Street, some wooden piles, lying nine feet deep, were noticed.

I am inclined to place the limit of the Roman town running nearly parallel to the river, rounding by Beer Cart Lane, taking part of Watling Street within it, or to carry it further west to a point near Hospital Lane; and then rounding towards the south-east, to the Ridingate, thence into Burgate, thence to Sun Street. There is, however, such slight direct evidence to guide us—none above, and little under the soil. I exclude the Dane John, the Castle Precincts, and St. Mildred's Churchyard; yet it is possible that a line might be drawn from Stour Street S. W. of the Watling Street, which it would cross at or near the Ridingate to Burgate, nearly in a straight line, within or by the present walls of the city. This would include the little Dungehill, which might have formed part of the defences constructed by the Romans or their predecessors. Mr. Pilbrow would extend the Roman boundary N.N.W. from Sun Street into King's Street. The late Mr. T. G. G. Faussett has suggested that the Northgate of the Roman town was near the Cathedral. He has also referred to evidences of a wall near the Rev. Mr. Rouch's house on the Green Court, but from examination—the walls being partially laid open since Mr. Faussett wrote his paper—I should consider these ruins to be mediæval, indeed, perhaps part of St. Michael's Church, as the remains extend into the top of Burgate Street. The Cathedral yard and Precincts, when drainage works were extensively carried through them in 1868, were found utterly deficient in Roman remains or relics, although at a short distance westward, such as in Burgate Street and Iron Bar Lane, a great variety of Roman objects were found, such as tessellated pavements, glass, Roman fibulæ, bone pins, rings, styli, Samian, and other pottery.

Mr. T. G. G. Faussett, in his able paper*, would extend the Roman settlement very considerably to the west and

* *Arch. Journal*, "Canterbury till Domesday."

south, passing through Stour Street into St. Mildred's Churchyard, including the Castle, the Worthgate, and the Dane John grounds.

There is no proof that the old Castle, or the greater portion of the Dane John grounds, formed any portion of Roman Canterbury.

Dr. Stukeley and other antiquaries have indeed spoken of the Worth or Wythgate—the Fortgate. Both he and Somner inspected it, and Somner speaks of it as having a perfect arch of "British brick." Assuming, however, he meant by this Roman tiles, it would be no conclusive proof it was of Roman construction, or even if it were, that it was a city gate, there being indirect evidence to the contrary.

There is scarcely an ancient building in Canterbury in which Roman tiles are not found amongst mediæval masonry. I need only name St. Martin's Church and the perfect arch of Roman tile (a pointed arch by the bye) over the mediæval structure of St. Pancras. Dr. Stukeley is more positive. He says, "To the south is an old obscure gate called Worthgate,* partly walled up; it is under the castle. This is entirely a Roman work; the semicircular arch is of Roman brick, beautifully turned, the piers of stone, and the thickness of it three Roman feet. I suppose this is the original gate of the Roman city." Now this gate might be a Roman building, but not a gate to the Roman city, or it might be a reconstruction out of Roman materials, as was most likely the case. It was in disuse even in Stukeley's time; "blocked up," as he describes it. It is doubtful now as to where it exactly stood.

The Wincheap Gate was comparatively a modern construction, the way itself being made long subsequent to the building up of the present city walls.†

* See Plate 14.

† In November, 1877, I excavated the road from wall to wall where this gate once stood. I found, about six inches below the surface of the road, the foundation of the mediæval wall of flint and concrete, extending no lower than two feet four inches. Below this was the native brick-earth, which had never been moved. The wall had been broken down to construct the road and gateway. This is an important fact, namely, the total absence of any masonry which could be Roman. Somner places the Worthgate at eighty-three perches from the Ridingate. Now this is exactly the distance from Riding Gate to the Wincheap Gate, measured along the Terrace, the

Again, if the Worthgate was a Roman gateway to the Roman town, there is this fact connected with it, that south of it, and behind it, within the supposed Roman walls, numerous Roman interments have been found.

Beneath Mr. Ash's malthouse, in the old gasometer, and in Castle Street, were discovered mortuary urns, containing burnt ashes, and bone and other pins—a large number of urns of this description were taken out during the further excavations at the gasometer.* In the centre of the castle, at a depth of several feet, was found a mortuary urn, now in my possession, containing burnt human bones. The mouth of the vessel was secured by a piece of lava of foreign origin.

In Wincheap, Wincheap Green, and in the present roadway, without the walls, but certainly not lying in any line, as if by the side of a *via*, but promiscuously scattered, were a considerable number of urn interments.* From the same place a fine piece of Castor pottery was taken, and further on, as if in continuation, crossing the railway into the Wall Field, were numerous Roman interments by inhumation, so distinguished by bronze *armillæ*, facetted glass beads, Roman coins, &c., found with the skeletons.

That Castle Street and the site of the buildings behind the wall, and of course behind the gate, wherever it stood in that wall, were strewed over with Roman interments, is very important. If the Worthgate was a gateway to Roman Canterbury, we must here record a notorious exception to the law of the twelve tables, as quoted by Cicero: "Hominem mortuum in urbe, ne sepelito neve urito."

length of the walls. If, however, Somner's measurement is in a straight line across the Dane John, not along the walls, the Worthgate would be carried forward. I applied also to be permitted to excavate, at my own expense, restoring all things to the condition they were in previous to my undertaking the work, the supposed site in Castle Street of the ancient Worthgate, extending about one-third across the road, as it might decide an important matter in dispute, but I was refused permission by the city authorities, as they saw "no public utility in it." On the same ground Westgate was condemned to be demolished

* I can confirm the above by a reference to the workmen who exhumed the relics, and by a Report forwarded to the Archæological Society of Great Britain by Mr. Good, in whose possession most of these earthen vessels were. In a cinery urn from the Gasworks were found two large Roman rings—one indented on the outward rim, one plain, in 1870. Both are in the writer's possession.

Had the Dane John field been within the Roman town*, some evidences of Roman occupation would have been exhumed during the many changes and alterations to which it has been subjected; or had the walls constituted in any way a portion of the Roman wall, some remains in foundation or in masonry would have attested Roman workmanship. There is not the slightest evidence of such a fact. Nothing of antiquarian interest has ever been discovered in the Dane John grounds, except Roman coins and mediæval remains. Roman coins turn up in every field and garden in and about Canterbury. Leland indeed speaks of a leaden coffin having been found in the Dane John Mound, but there is no evidence that this object was Roman, and if so, it would have been within the supposed forbidden line of sepulchre.

Crossing St. George's Street by a fruit shop (Mr. Taylor's), were found in the excavations of 1867-8 some thick parallel walls, the remains of an ancient building; and westward, within their enclosure, were evidences of Roman houses and fragments of Roman pavements (near Mr. Amos's). In Burgate Street, opposite to Philpott's Cooperage, was discovered a fine tessellated pavement, A.D. 1868, now in the Museum (see Plate 12), the central design being a double-handled cantharus with ornamental work in various cartouches surrounding the central object. The colours of the tesselæ being white,

* Somner is of opinion (see page 75), that the greater Dungeon mound once "lay wholly *without* the city walls." If this view of the matter be correct, it is very evident, as the city wall includes the mound within it, the present wall from the Castle to Ridingate could never have been the boundary on that side of the Roman city. The Castle was surely first erected as a sort of outwork or defence for the city, and became subsequently included when it was joined to Ridingate by a continuous wall or rampart.

Douglas, in his *Nenia*, p. 138, gives a drawing of a Roman urn found on an eminence opposite the Dane John Mound, near the Watling Street. He could not mean the mounds in the Martyrs' Field, as they are not near Watling Street. If he meant the little Dungehill, which was not far from Watling Street, this mound was probably part of the city defences in Roman time.

Dr. Stukeley gives an engraving of the Worthgate in his *Iter Curiosum*, a small round arch (see Plate 14, Fig. 2), where it is reproduced. There is no reason why this arch should not have been a reconstruction. In the same plate given by Dr. Stukeley of the Worthgate, is one of the Newport Gate at Lincoln. Let any antiquary who is a judge of Roman masonry compare them together. The Ridingate, which Dr. Stukeley examined at the same time, he acknowledges to be a reconstruction, although he assumes he saw "part of a Roman arch."

red, and black. The remains of two or three pavements were found in close connection. I should limit Roman Canterbury to this line eastward, namely, Burgate Street. Within it Roman pottery has been found, and a massive gold ring with a Roman intaglio, and a brooch or buckle, apparently Anglo-Saxon, whilst from some excavations near Iron Bar Lane were exhumed a great number of relics. Roman brooches, styli, earthen lamps, fragments of glass, a choice enamelled stud (see Plate 9, No. 2), Samian, and other pottery. Opposite Christ Church gate was found an enamelled brooch and the base of a Roman altar.

In the "Notitia," where Dover, Reculver, Richborough, Pevensey, and Lympne are all alluded to as being the stations of legions, cohorts, or detachments, no mention is made of Canterbury whatever.

As regards Durovernum, I think the evidence is very deficient that it was a completely walled town, although the central part of it, in or near the present St. Margaret's Street, was so. Here was placed a strong fortification or *arx*, and the city was, as at Uriconium, surrounded by a vallum. At Uriconium there appears evidence that the vallum was of masonry. Parts of the walls are still erect, but we have no such evidence at Canterbury.

The *arx* in St. Margaret's Street, when I observed the excavations, had in one part an obliquely contrived entrance, such as existed in the Roman wall in Northumberland, and is observable in one of the Richborough gates.

There is one suggestion, however, that the site of the city when first occupied by the Romans was small, and consisted of a citadel* surrounded by earth mounds; and if by a wall, partially so, and by one of a very different fabric to that of Richborough. As the Roman dominion became firm and established, extending for nearly a period of four hundred years in Kent at least, the boundaries of the city were enlarged; not, however, to the dimensions assigned by Mr. Faussett on the south-west, but greatly beyond their first limits. The Dane John field affords no evidence of ever having been

* The *arx* in St. Margaret's Street.

included in Roman Canterbury. Although comprising an area of some acres, it is utterly devoid of Roman remains, coins excepted. The city wall which surrounds it stands only on rubble and mortar, certainly not on any foundation in the slightest degree resembling Roman work.

Canterbury under the Roman governors was subject to municipal institutions, and as the Curiales or Senators presided in the towns of Gaul and Germany long after the Roman power was broken and her legions were called away, so the Duumviri, or Roman magistrates of cities in Britain, were afterwards represented in the two Bailiffs, and the Prefects, who continued to act under that name, or as Reves, in the Anglo-Saxon communities.

Day after day we find fresh proofs how complete at one time was the Roman occupation of England; and how deeply the genius of the conquerers had stamped itself upon the manners, and into the very heart and feelings of the inhabitants of this country. The subjected British Kings became Roman tributaries; and the existence of Roman villas, scattered far and wide over the land, and found even in unprotected localities, prove that possession was accompanied for a lengthened period by comparative security. As in many cases the Saxons succeeded peaceably to the possessions of the Romans, many of the Roman towns, stations, and buildings were for some time preserved. Such indeed were their roads and bridges, some of which remain to the present day. The arts and industry of this people were not unsuccessfully imitated by their successors, so much so, that in glass, personal ornaments, and even weapons, the antiquary is often at a loss to decide to which nation to assign them. Wars and the irruption of savage hordes destroyed, after a time, the Roman towns and edifices, as in the instances of Uriconium, Richborough, and other places.

We may arrive at some conclusions respecting the size and shape of Roman Canterbury by a few particulars relating to other towns in England. At London, Chester, Colchester, York, Bath, Wroxeter, and Caerleon, there are or were until lately certain indications in the remains of walls and buildings which shadowed out more or less

the dimensions of the Roman stations, municipia, or settlements. There are towns on the continent, Joublains, Lillebonne, Dax, Orange, Treves, Nismes, &c., which still display something of the outlines of Roman occupation, to say nothing of places, like Pompeii and Herculaneum, which having been as it were hermetically preserved by a sudden catastrophe, like the zoophite incrusted in the fossil, rival, vitality alone excepted, the outward form and shape of their original dimensions.

But Canterbury, wasted by the Danes in Ethelred's reign, destroyed by fire A.D. 754, had little left above ground to indicate its ancient size, shape, and contour. Roman Bath had, according to Dr. Stukeley, its walls remaining in 1724 almost entire. They measured about 500 yards east and west, by 380 yards, the direction of the limits being in some measure influenced by the nature of the ground. The Avon protected the city on two sides, and the walls were adapted to the level of the river.* A marsh lay between the walls and the river, hence the reason for the double defence. Sir H. C. Hoare† alludes to the somewhat irregular shape of certain British towns, such as Silchester, Winchester, and also to what he considers an older Bath, in the Britons' time. These settlements he compares with the more square and oblong form of Roman Colchester, Winchester, Caerleon, Castor near Norwich, and the military stations adjoining the Wall of Severus in the north. Collinson gives the form of a pentagon to the old Roman Bath. Vegetius, "De Rei Militari," lib. i. ch. 23, informs us that the Roman towns did not always conform to one figure, some being rectangular, some three-sided, and some semi-rotund.

The castrum at Richborough is rectangular, although it may be doubtful if it were walled on the river side. The walls of Uriconium (Wroxeter) comprise an irregular oval.

Of Reculver (Regulbium) we have remains only of the south wall and a portion of the wall on the east, constructed for the most part in a less substantial manner than those of Richborough, still, however, being of considerable solidity. Mr. Boys considered the walls at Reculver formed nearly a parallelogram.‡ The

* Scarth's Bath, p. 7. † Idem, p. 8.

‡ See an able paper by Mr. Dowker. Arch. Cantiana, vol. 12. "Richborough." C. R. Smith, p. 41.

castrum at Richborough was flanked by the square towers on the north side, traces of one on the south side, and one on the west side still remain.*

The walls of Lympne, according to Dr. Stukeley, were somewhat "squarish," the ancient earthen rampart of Rochester was of an oblong shape, as asserted by Rev. Beale Poste. By a Roman city in Britain we must not understand a community of houses fronting upon streets, like those of our modern towns. Two or three, perhaps, at the most as many as four streets, crossing these at right angles to each other, as far as circumstances would allow, formed a Roman Civitas of the moderate dimensions which Canterbury assumed. It was not a colonia like London, but a municipium, governed by knights † or citizens under a Præses or Præpositus. The houses were for the most part congeries of buildings, rarely two stories high, separated from each other by alleys or passages or open courts, which communicated with the principal vias, at the terminations of which were the gates.

At Durovernum one via lay towards the great camp or castrum at Richborough, another pointed to Lympne, the old Stone Street Road, and another over Saint Martin's hill to Dover.

There were also vias leading to Londinium, otherwise called Augusta, and towards the other strongholds on the coast, Reculver and Richborough.

The road to Reculver is not very clearly to be defined. It may have trended N.E., crossing the river at or near Westgate. There was a ford or bridge here for access to the extensive cemetery at St. Dunstan's. The road to Reculver might have passed along the slope of the hills below the Old Park Farm, and so crossed the river at or

* Roman gates had generally projecting towers. The forum at Silchester was paved with tesseræ. In that town were shops on two sides of the wall. Some of the butchers' iron hooks, on which they suspended their meat, have been found, and the stalls of the Argentarii, or money changers, and a luncheon bar full of oysters.

† Decuriones Curiales, Municipes, with magistrates of their own choosing, Duumviri, and Principales. From these institutions sprang the bailiffs of mediæval times and corporate jurisdictions. The Roman officers levied the taxes of the district. Previous to the time of Constantine a defensor was chosen, a sort of protector of popular rights, at least against unjust taxation.

near Fordwich. The existence of an extensive Roman cemetery along the line of the present barracks implies, probably, a way in this direction, which might, however, have crossed the marshes to the left nearer to Canterbury, and ascended the opposite hill by Shelford and Broadoak, and thence on to Maypole, Ford, and Reculver.

The river at Fordwich Bridge has yielded more than one antiquarian object suggestive of the presence of the Romans.

Earth mounds with double or single fosse were not unfrequently the sole defences of a Roman camp or settlement. These mounds were sometimes palisadoed.

Where at Canterbury we fail in evidences of brick or stone work, we must refer to other proofs; and when we find that the Romans were forbidden to construct cemeteries, or to inter their dead within the walls of a city, we have a rule in some degree to guide us. In some degree only, however, Mr. Parker found even at Rome this law had not always been enforced, for as the dimensions of the city increased, especially under the Emperors, the wall of Aurelian included within its boundaries a large number of tombs.* But at Canterbury all the cemeteries lie beyond the boundaries which we are justified in assigning to the Roman town. Five have been discovered—*viz.* at St. Dunstan's, by the Old Dover Road, by the Sturry Road, by the Barracks, Vauxhall and at Wincheap; and if I mistake not, one near a Roman via on the farm of Little Barton. Yet I could point out a few isolated instances of interments lying within the boundaries of Durovernum, such as in Burgate, in Saint George's, opposite the church, in the old castle, and in two or three other places.

* Battely tells us, p. 161, on the authority of Rosinus and Dempiterus (Ant. Rom.), that emperors, noblemen, and the vestal virgins were exempt from this law.

The Romans in Canterbury.

When the southern and eastern portions of England became subjugated to Roman power, as they did in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Roman citizens of Canterbury lived in comparative security. This state of things, with few interruptions, prevailed for two or three centuries.

Whether Durovernum was strongly fortified, either by earthworks or by stone walls, is a question not easily decided, but the existence after a time of the great Castra at Reculver, and Richborough, and Lympne in Kent, and Pevensey in Sussex, secured the interior of the south-eastern part of the island from the marauding excursions of the Northmen; and although depredators, pirates, and sea kings occasionally landed, the term "Littus Saxonicum," indicating that the southern coasts were not entirely unmolested, the Roman fleets, as well as Roman discipline, secured for a considerable period not only the tranquillity of the inhabitants of the oppida and villas, but the humbler dwellings of the cultivators of the soil, scattered over the country far and wide.*

The existence of outlying Roman houses in rural districts, and of the Roman occupation of lands, as attested by the measurements of fields by the agrimensores, and the consequent cultivation of the country for corn, cattle food, and vines, attest this fact.

Canterbury had its municipal institutions and its guild, otherwise collegium, though the civic magistrate was probably subordinate to the military power. The Pro Prætor or Præpositus, however, was not always a resident, and he might have delegated his authority from Richborough or Reculver.

If not by walls wholly or partially, Canterbury was defended by earthworks, and we have evidence of a forti-

* Examples are to be found at Hartlip, Iffen, Ickham, Stowting, &c.

fied position held by the Romans immediately above the Whitehall marshes, N. W. of the river, and by a strong-hold or fort of masonry on the so-called "Scotland Hills," overlooking the little valley where the "Reed Pond" is located. At Bigbury also, though more distant, the signs of Roman occupation have been discovered. The Roman citizen in his Canterbury villa had at hand the conveniences, if not the luxuries, afforded by more important places. His house, with Mosaic pavements, a house of several apartments, constructed and ornamented, as shown by the remains discovered in Burgate (see Plate, No. 12), as well as by scattered fragments of pavements found in several places. Evidences of these were noted in Sun Street, Saint George's, Palace Street, Jury Lane, St. Margaret's Street, &c. Horace satirizes his countrymen "for sweeping Mosaic pavements with dirty palm brooms" (Sat. 4, p. 208). Our Canterbury citizen, however, did not indulge in this luxury; yet the presence in Roman graves of elegantly enamelled brooches, gold intaglio rings, glass vessels, embossed Samian and Castor ware, with earrings and other trinkets, to say nothing of the fashion implied by the presence in the Roman lady's grave of a rouge pot—all silently yet unequivocally reveal a degree of luxury and civilization existing amongst the Romans in Canterbury.

The elegant bronze sepulchral vase found in Palace Street in 1868,* and the leaden coffins in other places, attest the interments of Roman citizens of opulence and consideration.

Tacitus informs us that Julius Agricola, the Roman commander, when in Britain, "in order, by a taste of pleasures, to reclaim the natives from that rude and uncultured state which prompted them to engage in war, and to reconcile them also to quiet and tranquillity, incited them to erect temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses," undoubtedly thinking the best way to induce them to do so was by setting them an example amongst the Roman occupiers of the country.

Canterbury had its forum, and it possessed a fort or citadel, of which we have evidence in Saint Margaret's Street, near to Mr. George Collard's offices.

* "Archæologia," vol. 43, part I.

Roman Canterbury could not have been an ineligible place for a settlement. The hills around, then covered with woods, were full of game, and afforded sport for the hunter of bears,* foxes, hares, and conies. The waters of the Stour were rife with fish—trout, perch, roach, pike, flounders, cray fish, and eels. Tench was to be found in the lazy or stagnant pools, and lamphreys in the rapid shallows of tributary streams. Salmon, probably, made expeditions from the sea up the Stour, for the waters were then wide spreading, and at times abundant, and even that shy old exquisite, the "Fordwich trout," unfettered by weirs, by fishery laws and municipal monopoly, half trout, half salmon, so dainty, too, in what he fed upon, that he may be said never to eat, found his way to Canterbury, and gladdened the palates of the Roman epicures.

Oysters were plentiful, as attested by the number of oyster shells found in the soil at the Roman level. There was then no niggardly supply of "natives," and shell fish from the "Rutupian shore" was exported even to Rome itself.

We have not observed in the Roman graves at Canterbury any of the "silver vases" which Horace has alluded to; but who can tell what evidences of Roman wealth and luxury may not from time to time have been discovered at a period when antiquarian objects were little prized, and merely possessed such value as the cupidity of the finders could realize in the market?

The soil is still replete with Roman coins, and few ancient nooks or foundations are attacked in certain parts of the city, after fourteen hundred years of ravage, excavations, and diggings, without yielding to the antiquary some objects of interest.

The Romans were great in cookery; at all events they had the art of bringing down or raising up most edibles to one level, and making a pike or a roach as savoury as a delicate trout fed on the May fly, and taken from a mountain stream. The condiments they used were innumerable, and if the cook occasionally mixed "black salt," he was always careful to combine "white pepper" with it.

* Bear dogs are mentioned even in mediæval times.

The grape of the Falernian or Massic wine was not produced in Kent, nor the "Venetian olive," nor the Picenian apple;* yet the luxury of roasted shrimps, so much enjoyed at home, might be emulated at Canterbury; and nothing prevented the Roman citizen, like the dwellers on Sabine farms, from enjoying their mulberries, "black with ripeness," gathered from the tree before the sun was potent.† There was a fastidiousness at least, if not a refinement, in Roman luxury, when the boar selected for a feast must have been fed upon the acorns of the "scarlet oak."

But what were the Roman sports, games, and amusements in Canterbury? Where was their circus or amphitheatre? We think it lay beyond the walls or boundaries, in the pit in the Martyr's Field, now lately filled in, and planted over with hops. Here we have often detected, as we thought, the remains of the raised seats for the spectators, and compared their appearance with those at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, which they strikingly resembled. Of the horse or chariot races we have no record, unless in the fragment of a racing cup in glass, when one "Mus," say "Museus," competed, perhaps not unsuccessfully (see Plate 6, Fig. 4). The word "fave," however, is not apparent, as it is in a similar specimen found at Lillebonne in France;‡ it may have been broken off. If a horse-shoe or two are sufficient records, and a bronze ringle for harness, they might attest the presence of Roman steeds.

The Romans, or their successors the Saxons, like many other people, occasionally gambled, or had their games of chance, for dice and some objects like draughts have been found. See Plate 17, Figure 4.

Flue tiles have been exhumed, yet no remains of baths.

Of Roman coins, especially those in bronze, the number discovered in Canterbury has been great, such as those of Claudius, Vespasian, Carausius, Allectus, Tetricus, Antoninus Pius, &c., and especially Constantine

* The Romans introduced into Kent the cherry trees of Pontus.
† Horace, 4, book 2.
‡ "La Seine Inferieure," p. 228.

the Great. Of Augustus Cesar but a few specimens have been noted. Two golden aurei were found, October 1876, in the circuit of the Roman embankment, overhanging Whitehall. They represent the coinage of Gallienus and Valerian.

Cesar informs us that the Britons used money both of gold and brass (bronze).

Some antiquaries have supposed the gold coin was of Gaulish origin, but wherefore? They possessed golden ornaments, such as torques and armillæ. Mr. Akerman seems to think that the coins of British character were not produced until after the Roman settlement. There is no conclusive evidence of this; although some of the British kings, tributary or otherwise, such as Cunobelin, &c., with Roman terminations to their names and Roman legends to their money, might have been assisted by Roman moneyers. The Britons, however, were possessed of certain rude elements of art. They had bronze axes and chisels, some elaborated with skill, and ornamented; golden ornaments, sickles or scythes of metal attached to their war chariots, the chariots themselves in some degree manifesting that their owners were not the rude barbarians they had generally been supposed to be.

They had horse ornaments, elaborately enamelled brooches, and perhaps enamelled rings.

We know nothing of the deities worshipped by the Romans at Canterbury. No doubt, as in most localities where they permanently settled, they introduced some of the divinities worshipped by the people they had conquered.

We have no inscriptions, however, to help us to solve this question, nor such as are found along the Roman wall, or at Aquæ Solis, and at other places.

However, near Canterbury, on the old Roman road to Lympne, there is a place called "Herman Sole." Sul is evidently an affix to a name, the name of a god, perhaps a British epithet.

At Bath, Sulinus, son of Maturas, sets up an altar to the deity, Sul-Minerva, or Minerva Sul. Probably Herman Sole, or Sul, indicated a temple, once erected to Hermes, god of travellers. It stood by the high road,

and Sul was an affix; the Romans adopting a British, or the Saxons a Roman deity.

Mr. Scarth, in his "Roman Bath," alludes to this word Sul or Sol, and thinks it indicated a word synonymous with "health giving;" this, however, would specially apply to Bath only.

Mr. C. R. Smith considers that the Sulivæ were nymphs, tutelary divinities of rivers, fountains, hills, and roads (Roman London, p. 38). Hence, perhaps, our epithet Herman Sole.

Of the Roman ladies of Canterbury we can form but a faint idea. They wore brooches, chatelaines, and often turned up their back hair in a wreath. Mr. C. R. Smith says: They used fans in England, which opened and shut, a fashion generally supposed to be of rather modern invention. A fan of this description, however, has been found sculptured on a Roman stone tablet near Carlisle. An ivory comb, doubtless of the Roman period, was found in Watling Street, 1878. (Plate 17, Fig. 3.) It would indicate, as well as the rouge pot found in St. Sepulchre's, some of the articles of the toilet.

The Roman ladies wore veils, sometimes as in ancient busts drawn coquettishly over the brow and chin, leaving eyes, nose, and mouth exposed.

Roman Antiquities.

THE discovery of antiquities in Canterbury—pottery, fibulæ, glass vessels, coins, &c., down to the present time—provokes the reflection that many valuable and curious objects exhumed during the last 1,400 years have been unnoted and ultimately lost.

An attempt is made in the following pages to record such objects as have come under the writer's inspection, together with those which have from time to time been discovered, and of which any description has survived. In respect of pottery and coins, this must relate to special objects only.

At a depth of about seven or eight feet, in the principal streets of the present city, antiquarian relics are most commonly discovered. There can be little doubt but that the destruction of the Roman town was sudden and violent. This is proved by the confusion in which some of the articles are distributed, and the evidence of the action of fire upon others, which have been preserved only, like the tessellated pavements of Burgate Street, by the falling down of materials, under which they were concealed for so many centuries, and the consequent accumulation of a new soil and surface above them.

At no very distant period, however, there must have been many remains in certain parts of the Roman town, signs of Roman workmanship extant, and Roman materials worked into mediæval buildings.

The city walls certainly offer no example, as at Chester or Colchester, of Roman handicraft, and we are from this fact and other evidences led to conclude that such walls as remain do not correspond to or represent the "circuitas" of the Roman town.

One of the earliest references to Roman remains is made by Leland, who speaks of a leaden coffin having been exhumed from the top of the Dane John shortly previous to his time. Hasted and Gough,* writing much

* Gough, vol. 1, p. 344, fig. 2.

later, relate the discovery in the city circa, 1730, of a Roman vase, of red ware and of elegant shape, with a pattern bearing on it the words "Taraget de Teve." Doubtless this inscription was inaccurate or imperfect, perhaps both. A brass or bronze lacrymatory, together with a gold pendant set with two small stones or pearls, was also found. In 1772, the same authority informs us, a gold bracelet was exhumed in the city, weighing 8oz. 8dwts. This was probably British or Celtic. The "Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1808, p. 17, states that a tessellated pavement was discovered 20th June 1758, at three feet under the surface of the soil, in digging a cellar for a house next to the "King's Head." A drawing seems to have been taken of this relic, which was once in the possession of a Mr. Edward Jacob, of Faversham, but I can get no further account of the pavement in question.

Hasted also mentions a pavement found A.D. 1739, near Jewry Lane. It was of Mosaic work, of a carpet pattern, the tesselæ being of burnt earth—red, yellow, black, and white—laid on a bed of cement. As it was carried away piecemeal, its remains were, doubtless, not long preserved. A pavement of white tesselæ was found not many years since opposite the Fountain Inn gateway.

Somner mentions the discovery of a Roman pavement exhumed in digging a cellar in Saint Margaret's parish. Also a pavement of Mosaic work is recorded to have been found in Saint Martin's parish. Here must have been the remains of a Roman villa without the walls.

Gough informs us that "Druid beads," probably the polychrome beads, similar to that placed by Mr. James Reid in the Museum, have been discovered in Canterbury. He also mentions coins, and tessellated pavements, and bronze Celts. The coins found in Canterbury, in the lowest floors of old buildings, in sewage excavations, in the gardens, and adjoining hop grounds, are too numerous to be recorded in detail.

A few British coins have been discovered. Also a silver Greek coin, bearing the effigy of Alexander the Great, found in a garden in Wincheap, A.D. 1876. A gold coin of Justin, who died A.D. 527, was found at

St. Augustine's. It bore a loop attached to it, indicating that it was once worn as an ornament. Looped gold coins and bracelets were discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves at Sarre. Also the coins of the Roman Emperors of the East, Heraclius, and Mauritius, and of Chlothaire II., King of the Franks, their dates extending from A.D. 582 to A.D. 628.

In the Coll. Antiqua, vol. 1, pp. 63 and 177, Mr. C. R. Smith has given some interesting specimens of gold coins found at Canterbury. With these coins was found a looped Roman intaglio, and a gold circular ornament set with coloured glass. One of these coins may be considered Merovingian. Of the others one has a full faced bust, and a long cross to the right and to the left, and a cross below; the second coin has a diademed head on the obverse and two rude figures—Victories; the third coin has a beautifully executed head. I must call special attention to the last of these coins.*

The Rev. D. H. Haigh, of Erdington, has favoured me with a description, having gone into the investigation of the subject. The coin in question is inscribed—

LYUPARDVS EPS.

Mr. Haigh says, "I was not aware (at first) that Liphardus was a personage distinct from Lindhardus, the chaplain of Queen Bertha. Only recently has it come to my knowledge that the former had his place in the calendar on the 4th February, and that the latter was associated with King Ethelbert on the 24th of the same month. A careful examination of the legend, 'Liphardus' or 'Lefardus' in the Bollandist 'Acta Sanctorum,' satisfies me there is nothing inconsistent with contemporary history." Mr. Haigh continues, "This story then briefly will be, that he accompanied the British King Cadwallader to Rome, and was slain on his return by the emissaries of Dagobert I. at Trecau, on the borders of Artois, between the years 635—638. His relics are preserved in the Abbey of Hannau, in the diocese of Cambrai."

Liphardus was a Bishop of St. Martin, at Canterbury,

* The history and discovery of this coin at St. Martin's is an interesting fact in connection with Ethelbert and Bertha. It is not improbable that some of the other ornaments once belonged to the gentle Queen herself.

a see which had a very early existence, and was only suppressed by Lanfranc when he obtained the Archbishoprick.

A.D. 1860 there were found in the railway cutting near Little Barton two golden armillæ, or armlets. The original finder sold them for one shilling each as coffin handles! Of these relics one has disappeared; it was probably carried to London, and found its way to the melting pot. The fellow specimen (see Plate 5, Fig. 6), remains with Mr. Trimnell of this city, who, however, did not obtain it of the original finder. Mr. Trimnell very properly conserves and appreciates the antiquities of his native city. It is an elegant ornament, weighing 2oz. 2dwts., and constructed after rather an unusual fashion, each wire or coil being made thicker in the centre than at the ends. Two skeletons were found near it; and at no great distance the writer of this account subsequently picked up a good worked specimen of a flint knife. The armilla was worn, perhaps, on the wrist of some Celtic or British lady, and buried with her ages since. Boadicea, as described by Dr. Cassius, wore armillæ and torques of gold. Torques were worn by the Trojan youth (see Aneid V., line 559). Mr. Trimnell possesses also a beautiful gold signet ring, found in the river Stour at Fordwich. It is Roman, and exhibits much skill in design and finish; its weight is 10 dwts.; it is an onyx intaglio, on which a cupid leaning on a spear is engraved. In the collection of the same gentleman is a gold twisted ring, found in Canterbury* (Plate 5, Fig. 3); an Anglo-Saxon or early Roman ring (Plate 9, Fig. 5), of cloissonne enamel design; the head of a bird—a rare and choice specimen; a twisted gold ring (Plate 5, Fig. 4, Celtic), knobbed at each end, found at the foot of Saint Thomas's Hill; and a silver mediæval seal, bearing an ancient intaglio.

Before we leave St. Martin's and its neighbourhood, I would refer to a Roman enamelled brooch found December, 1864, by a workman in the grounds abutting St. Martin's churchyard, S.E. (see Plate 10, Fig. 2).

* In the "Archæologia," vol. 43, p. 2, a similar object is described by General Fox, said to have come from Africa. Another example, ploughed up in the parish of Cranbrook, 1868, is recorded in Arch. Cantiana, vol. 9, p. 12.

It is circular, but of open cruciform design, and enamelled in purple. A similar example is engraved in Mr. Lee's "Isca. Silurum" (Caerleon). In the precincts of St. Augustine's Monastry was discovered, a few years since, a fine massive Roman gold ring, now in the possession of Alderman H. Austin. The bezel is a head engraved in a onyx. Of other rings we might here note—a massive silver ring with an intaglio, on which is engraved a figure of a man, seated on a fallen tree, milking a goat; Another ring of iron with an intaglio on a raised oval stone, engraved with the design of a boy holding a ball in one hand, and some implement, perhaps a racket, in the other; also, a third ring, of iron with a blueish stone or piece of glass for the bezel, unengraved. All these three rings were discovered in 1876, in making excavations for a swimming bath in the Whitehall marshes, and at no great distance from the Roman camp at Whitehall, on the hill above, where the Aurei were found. The rings were found in the water of the Silver Spring, with various Roman objects, such as brass fibulæ, styli, shards of pottery, &c.

Amongst rings found in Canterbury, we may add a silver mediæval ring with an intaglio engraved + Sigell— Secreti; a plain Roman bronze ring, Canterbury Lane, 1868; a Roman bronze ring, near the Ridingate, with a glass bezel; and about the same time, another bronze ring of more elegant shape.

Amongst various seals found at Canterbury, I record one discovered in Hawk's Lane, in the garden of Mr. Lacy, town clerk, a few years previous to 1785. Another seal (mediæval), found in Canterbury, 1755, inscribed "Iacobe propitia sit tui copia,"* and a mediæval seal from a garden in Broad Street, Northgate, found by the late Mr. S. J. B. Miette, about fifty years since. A seal of John Le Crispe, of Thanet, time of Charles II., found at Fordwich, some thirty years ago; it went into the possession of the late Mr. Friend, of Birchington, who was allied to the Le Crispe family.

There were in Roman Canterbury four, or rather five Roman cemeteries, just beyond its boundaries. We note, first, an extensive cemetery at St. Dunstan's, extending

* "Gent. Mag.," November, 1875.

from the South Eastern Railway cutting to the London Road on the N.N.W., and abutting on or including the whole length of the Saint Dunstan's Road, and extending in places, especially by Roper House, to the opposite side of the way, then trending round by the London Road, and occupying the present churchyard. It appeared to be rectangular in shape, and was several acres in extent.

Secondly. A cemetery commencing at or near the castle adjoining Castle Street, extending in one direction toward the station of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, and Martyr's Field, a portion of which it included, together with a field tending onward S. W. beyond the new gasometer into the premises of Messrs. Gaskin and Godden, abutting Wincheap Street.

In the Wincheap field, at the back of Mr. Dombrain's oast houses, the practice of inhumation almost exclusively prevailed. In the graves where skeletons were found were coffin nails of large dimensions, some being from eight to ten inches in length, as if boles of trees sawn asunder had been used, or extraordinary thick planks. Most of these nails, through some peculiar chemical action in the soil—a red gravel—had become porous and hollow from head to foot, and yet possessed no external openings.

Here, in the year 1861, Roman coins, bronze armillæ (Plate 5, Figures 3, 4, and 6), and green and purple glass beads cut into facets, were found, together with a little bronze box or purse containing coins. The skeletons were placed mostly with their feet towards the east. Probably, the practice of inhumation here adopted—a condition so dissimilar to the usual practice, except in tiled graves or sarcophagi—was in accordance with the rites of some of the foreign mercenaries enlisted in the Roman legions when stationed at Canterbury. Tungrians, Germans, and Gauls formed often part of the military forces of the Roman Empire; even men from the East, such as Palmyrenes (see Coll. Ant. vol. 7, p. 106), were enlisted in the Roman armies. The third Roman cemetery might be noted as existing in the Old Dover Road, the continuance of the present Watling Street being the ancient Roman via leading towards Dover, and perhaps to Portus Lemanis, as the Wincheap cemetery stood in

the ancient way to Chilham, Ashford, and Durolevum (Lenham). The practice of urn burial exclusively prevailed in this cemetery. Some years since, pottery and other objects had been accidentally exhumed in making alterations in the high road, but the appropriation of land at one side of the way in 1861 for building purposes, brought to light an extensive Roman cemetery.

The greatest product of antiquarian objects were Seriæ, commonly called Dolia, Pateræ of Samian ware, Upchurch vases, a few specimens of Castor or Salopian ware, glass vessels, bronze tweezers, styli, pins, and a few coins. A curious little vessel of bright red polished ware, with a spout, and about four and a half inches high (Plate 4, Fig. 6), presented the appearance of the sucking pot of a child. It was buried beside the ashes of the little creature it once doubtless served to nourish.

A similar object of a ruder construction was subsequently found in the city itself; and Mr. Parry, of Northgate, has another, found in St. Dunstan's. In this ground were the remains of the Ustrinum, the place for burning the bodies of the dead. It consisted of a right-angled wall of clay, found under the surface. The wall was about twelve inches thick, the soil it inclosed was composed of burnt ashes, and the walls were thoroughly charred through. As nails were occasionally found in the mortuary urns amongst the bone ashes, we may conjecture that the practice in cremation was to place the body upon a wooden frame or litter, and when the body and the bier were consumed together, some of the nails which had held the frame together would be accidentally scraped up with the burnt bone ashes, and occasionally with these remains deposited in the urns. These nails, not above one and a half inches long, were too small for coffin nails; in fact, there was no evidence whatever that coffins had been used. A fine quadrilateral glass vessel (Plate 6, Fig. 2), 14 inches high, was taken from this ground; and a Olla of Upchurch ware curiously painted with white chevron stripes (Plate 4, Fig. 4), with spots of the same colour in the centre. It is now in the Canterbury Museum. Above the Roman cemetery was the graveyard of the nuns of the Holy Sepulchre. Here the bodies had been interred without

coffins. In no one instance did a vestige of a coffin exist. The dead lay so thick that it might be said they had been placed shoulder to shoulder. The ground seemed like a deposit where the pestilence smitten had been interred in rows. They were far too numerous to be the remains of the ordinary inmates of the nunnery, a house which Somner relates consisted of a prioress only, and five black-veiled nuns.

There is no record of any of the victims of the plague being specially buried in this spot. Canterbury, however, suffered from many a fearful visitation of this disease.

Amongst the relics taken from the Roman level was a little earthen vessel partly filled with a red pigment, answering by chemical analysis to rouge. It indicated, doubtless, a lady's grave.

The objects, Figures 2, 4, 5, 6 (one-third lineal size), Plate 4, were found in the cemetery. From the quantity of pottery taken from this cemetery, and the systematic plan pursued in opening it, I endeavoured to ascertain if there was any particular deposition of the vessels, as regards their size and arrangement around the cinerary urn. Generally a bottle-shaped vessel (Plate 4, Fig. 5) of red clay, doubtless filled once with water or some liquid, was present. Samian patera (Plate 4, Fig. 1), and black saucer-shaped vessels of coarser materials, and sometimes, but rarely, glass vessels, and bronze articles occasionally inclosed in a box, as at Vauxhall on the Ramsgate Road, and in the Artillery Barracks, containing fibulæ, tweezers, and coin, presented themselves. I was unable to discover that any special arrangement of these objects existed, for no two interments, even with nearly similar deposits, were alike. Indeed, the Roman graves are known to present a strange variety of objects, almost every small article of domestic or general use being occasionally present, weapons of war, and knives being the exceptions. Thus we find brooches, rings, beads, steelyards, scales, horse-shoes, horse-bits, fire dogs, stylii, lacymatories (so called), mirrors, pins, plough, shares, cattle goads, clay figures, earrings; indeed, a variety of objects too numerous to describe.

Pottery.

Leland seems almost the first writer who has alluded to our local Roman antiquities. Somner followed with more interest, and the various historians of Canterbury and the county of Kent have put on record a few of the antiquarian remains which have been from time to time discovered. No systematic plan, however, has been pursued; and not till 1822 did a local museum exist, the earliest contents of which in Anglo-Saxon and Roman antiquities were not local, but acquired from a distance. Dr. Stukeley tells us that the Earl Winchelsea of his time, possessed at Eastwell many antiquities found in Canterbury.

Although the fragments of figured Samian ware are numerous, and exhibit great variety of designs, the specimen given in Plate 11, Fig. 3, fractured as it is, is one of the most perfect found in Canterbury, with the exception of a larger bowl in the possession of Mr. Pool. The various compartments of the vase exhibit the sports of the circus, gladiatorial combats with wild animals; and in all these contests the lion, prince of beasts, is represented as victorious.

During a certain period of the empire, and perhaps even after its fall, the fights of wild beasts, either with one another or with human antagonists, were highly esteemed; and a governor or an emperor often owed a temporary popularity to the profusion with which he gratified, in this respect, the taste and pleasures of the people; thus condoning for acts of oppression cruelly exercised over his unfortunate subjects by temporarily ministering to their amusements. Sometimes a wild revenge was enacted, and the minions and spies of a tyrant were greeted with a shout in the circus, "Delatores ad Leonem!" from the exasperated spectators, which must have sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of the masters of the people as they presided at the games.

Fig. 2, Plate 11, exhibits two animals, resembling camelopards, an unusual if not an unique design.

Fig. 1, Plate 11, is a fragment, which displays the peculiarity of the patterns, being incised instead of

embossed or moulded in relief, as was most generally the case—a process which consisted in forming the patterns and ornaments in moulds, and then attaching them to the vessel, and baking the whole together, an operation which caused them to adhere firmly, and to become part of the bowl or patera itself.

Broken fragments are occasionally found, thought to be of sufficient importance to be riveted together. The specimen (Plate 11, Fig. 1) found in Ivy Lane is curious for the name, or fragment of a name, scratched upon the polished ware in the cursive writing of the period doubtless by the original owner. There is also in my collection a patera, from the upper part of which projects a lion's head in high relief, forming a sort of spout; the animal's mane is marked by ridges in the substance of the ware. Such vessels are, however, not rare. Abbe Cochet, "Normandie Souterraine," page 80 (Plate 3, Fig. 16), gives a perfect specimen of a patera so ornamented, found in Normandy. Some of the smaller Samian vessels have a most brilliant lustre; amongst them are shallow little cups or saucer-shaped objects of elegant form.* Plate 4, Fig. 1, is an example not uncommon, having two handles made merely for ornament. Sometimes an ivy-leafed pattern exists, or other designs running along the rims. Nos. 2 and 4 are black vases, with white lines or figures of ornamentation. No. 3 is a vase of a light red colour from St. Dunstan's, now in the Museum, and of an unusual shape. No. 5 is a black vase of Upchurch ware.

The above objects are drawn about $\frac{1}{4}$ lineal size. They are all from Canterbury.

The red lustrous ware, commonly called Samian, was generally supposed to have been originally fabricated at Samos, although subsequently similar ware was made in the Roman potteries on the Rhine and at other places. The vessels when not ornamented are generally stamped with the maker's name in the centre. Thus, "by the hand of Aventinus," "from the kiln or workshop of Saturninus," or "Paulius made it." This ware is found in great quantities in England, and is generally present in Roman graves where other pottery abounds. Although large

* For lists of potter's names on ware found in England, see "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," and Mr. C. R. Smith's works.

quantities have been dredged up off Reculver, and specimens still continue to be found there on the Pan Shoal with mortaria of a different clay*, it is generally considered that the Samian pottery was not manufactured in England, but was an importation from Roman colonies on the continent. It was at Aretium, now Arezzo, in Tuscany, where, according to Mr. T. Wright, the best Samian ware was made. "Here the red glaze of the pottery assumed a darker hue, and the figures ornamenting it were better executed. It is stamped with the potter's names, not as in the ordinary Samian ware within the vessel, but externally."

From the Pan Shoal, a sand bank about seven miles N.W. of Reculver, large quantities have been found. A vessel in Roman times might have been wrecked upon this shoal, freighted with these articles, and we are still supplied after a lapse of 1,400 years with some of the cargo; or another hypothesis may obtain, namely, that an ancient pottery, like the extensive works at Upchurch, once existed, having been submerged, especially as the northern coasts of Kent and portions of Sheppy itself have been washed away, and are still yielding to the action of the atmosphere and crumbling into the sea. The working of a pottery in Roman times for the manufacture of this ware, would pre-suppose the existence of materials fitting and proper for its composition. The dredgers and divers have testified to the existence of clay on the shoal. The Samian bowls are very rarely found in a perfect state. A fine specimen however was dug up some years since in Wingham parish, and which is or was in the possession of Rev. Mr. Gilder of Sandwich.

Earthen lamps have been found in many parts of Canterbury, some horizontal, having a handle, together with a spout for pouring out the oil, and ornamented with designs, others of the simplest construction. If the lamps after the ruder design contained oil, it was not unlikely that a reed or dried rush constituted the wick, and so by capillary attraction, a supply of aliment was carried up to the flame. These lamps were doubtless the rushlights of the poorer classes.

* A very elegant specimen of Castor ware has lately been dredged up off this shoal.

A long line of Roman graves stretched from the Infantry and Cavalry Barracks abutting upon the present Ramsgate Road, crossing the same in a north-eastern direction, thence into the brick field formerly known by the name of "Rolfe's Orchard." In this place several interments by cremation have been opened in the process of excavating the soil for the purpoe of digging out brick earth.

Pottery of the usual types, Samian pateræ and Upchurch ollæ, have been found, and an urn-shaped vessel of a coarsish material marked with a rude head and grotesque ornaments.* This object is very similar to some specimens of Romano-Gaulish fabrication. A fragment of somewhat similar design was not long since found in Canterbury. Plates 9 and 10 represent some enamelled objects from the same spot, discovered May, 1871. Plate 9, Fig. 4, is a harp-shaped fibula of very elegant form; the acus and sheath are complete, and the brooch itself is enamelled with small oblong facets of red and yellow. Fig. 1 is more curious still, being a fibula to which are suspended small implements of the toilet—tweezers, bodkins, ear picks, &c., making with the lateral appendages a sort of chatelaine. The brooch itself, which is of a semi-oval shape, is ornamented by shield-shaped enamels, alternately of yellow and purple colours. It has five projecting ornaments, the superior one containing a small enamelled design like a flower with four petals. Its total length with the objects attached is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Fig. 6 is of a rare, if not an unique, design. It is a brooch, bow-shaped, with chevrons of bright red and green pastes. Three milled lines or ridges cross the centre, above and below which runs another line. Two little objects, like heads, either of dogs or of men, terminate the brooch. The above three fibulæ had evidently been preserved in a small box, for close to them were found six or eight bronze knobs, the bolt of the lock somewhat elaborately formed, and to which probably was attached a spring, and the scutcheon of the keyhole, elegantly shaped and ornamented with a red enamelled design, and a little hasp with a red cross-shaped ornament upon it. Also an enamelled scutcheon for the keyhole of the box (see Plate 3, Fig. 8). With these objects were found two or three red pateræ of

* In the possession of Colonel Cox, of Fordwich.

Samian ware, a patera of black clay, a small cinerary urn, and the red bottle-shaped vessel so commonly noted in Roman graves. The designs of these fibulæ are of an unusual character. They were arranged in a space about three feet in diameter, and buried about 3 feet under the surface of the field. I had previously obtained a bronze brooch similar to the one described with chatelaine ornaments, but of a somewhat ruder pattern; but although probably it came either from this spot or Saint Dunstan's, I could obtain no reliable information respecting it. See Plate 10, Fig. 4. The grave described above at Vauxhall was probably that of a female. In the little box she had stored her trinkets; and her wishes, or the affection of her friends had prompted the sentiment which had placed them in her grave. In the Vauxhall Field, where the fibula (Plate 9, No. 1) was found, a large dolium had previously been exhumed, and thence sometime afterwards, a most elegant glass vessel, of which I took a sketch. It stood in a saucer-shaped glass stand, which was part of the substance of the glass vessel itself. Unfortunately, shortly after the drawing was made, it was accidentally destroyed. The colour was of a palish yellow, and it was about 12 inches high, with a narrow neck and an elaborately ornamented handle. An object very like it is in the possession of Mr. George Payne, of Sittingbourne. This cemetery extended at intervals nearly half a mile. It seemed to have crossed the road, or rather the original road must have made a curve, if a way existed here in Roman times.

Nearer Canterbury, close by the mess room of the Artillery Barracks, but without doubt a part of the same cemetery, an interesting discovery was made in May, 1862.. It consisted of two or three mortuary urns and other earthen vessels,* with the remains of a box, but of larger dimensions than the one from the Vauxhall grave, as shown by the size of its ornaments, for the woodwork had perished—namely, eight bronze studs and a well preserved and ornamented bronze hasp, about four inches long, and the bolt of the lock of the box. No fibulæ were discovered, but a twisted rod of yellow glass,

* One of these is an elegant little vase of Castor ware, Plate 1, Fig. 1. Fig. 2, same plate, is a vase from the old Dover Road.

apparently about sixteen inches in length, for it had been unfortunately fractured by the excavators, and probably a small portion of it, an inch or two at least, lost from the centre (Plate 6, Fig. 1).

The Abbe Cochet in his "La Seine Inferieure," page 237, calls attention to a similar glass rod found in a Roman grave, A.D. 1860, in Normandy, near Folleville, and he gives an engraving of our Canterbury relic rather too much elongated. He attaches a significance to this object, saying, "It may be mysterious or non-natural;" implying, doubtless, the relic was connected with some superstition or sepulchral rite. These glass rods, however, are not all similarly ornamented. The Canterbury specimen has a stamp at one end, and the effigy of a cock at the other. There are, in the British Museum, two or three fragments of the twisted glass rods. They exhibit no figured designs nor ornaments, and as I believe none of them were found in England, our Canterbury specimen is so far unique.

Socrates, in his last hours, desired a cock to be sacrificed to Pluto. This bird was also dedicated to Hippocrates, the god of medicine and invalids. Had the idea of death and mortal sickness any significancy emblemed in this design, or was it merely an ornament? An experienced antiquary has, however, assured me the rod was nothing more than the hair-pin of the deceased Roman lady. From its length and fragility, I should say it was a somewhat awkward appendage; nevertheless, glass hair-pins do even now form part of the requisites of female head dresses, as evidenced in two I have received direct from Japan.

The Saint Dunstan's Cemetery, N.W. of Westgate, has for a series of years produced, either from the church yard, or in excavating drains and foundations of houses near the streets adjoining, a large quantity of Roman pottery and other objects, such as glass vessels, earthen lamps, and bronze implements. Specially we note a little figurine in white clay, representing a female holding twin children, and seated in a chair of wicker-work. It is preserved in the Canterbury Museum.

Another of these figurines (Plate 6, Fig. 6) is represented. In this instance the woman has one child only

in her arms. It is in the possession of the writer, and was found in Sun Street in 1867. It has an inscription on the back, probably the potter's name. These objects, which are formed of a fine white clay hardened in the kiln, are rare in England. An extensive manufactory of them was discovered by M. Tudot near the village of Toulon, in the South of France, about the year 1857, comprising many varieties of these statuettes.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, in "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. 6, p. 48, has given an interesting account of these little statues. "They will at once," he observes, "remind the numis matist of the coins of the Roman empresses, inscribed 'Fecunditas' and 'Fecunditas Augustæ.'" "The Dame Abunde," of the old mediæval tales, is also anticipated.

In some of these figures we recognise such deities as Venus Genetrix, and Epona, the "Goddess of Horses."

These clay figurines are interesting. In the drawing given (Plate 6, No. 6), the curiously-formed wicker chair should be observed. Some of these objects were the Deæ Matres, and the probability is, that, like the Canterbury specimen, they were placed near the ashes of a married woman, either as a propitiatory offering or a descriptive symbol.

Abbe Cochet, in "La Seine Inferieure," p. 274, gives a cut of one of these little figures, which he calls a Statuette of Latona, found with Roman remains at Caux in a sarcophagus of tiles.

We may here observe that all the Roman cemeteries near Canterbury stood abutting or near to highways leading from the city.

The Saint Dunstan's, Wincheap, Vauxhall (Ramsgate Road), and the old Dover Road (Lympne and Dover Roads), are manifest enough; but the somewhat obscure cemetery near Little Barton requires us to explain that an old Roman road doubtless extended in this direction, probably the via leading to Richborough, and running into the present Deal and Sandwich Roads.

The "Siste Viator" must have thus been a constant call upon the Roman citizen as he passed out of the city on his journey to other localities.

Isolated interments have also been found in Canter-

bury, *viz.*, one beneath the walls of the Roman house in Burgate Street, close upon a tessellated pavement; and a cinerary urn in St. George's Street, near the Church. The other examples scarcely apply, the localities in which these urns were found being beyond the limits of the Roman city, such as an urn containing burnt bones in my possession, found at some distance below the surface in the centre of the Castle itself. The mouth of this vessel was covered by a piece of lava of foreign origin. Fish bones lay near it. A small mortuary urn at the back of No. 8, Dane John Grove, and the bronze vase with ornamented handles described by Mr. Pilbrow (Arch., vol. 43, part 1), and found at the bottom of Palace Street, may be noted. A Roman urn is said to have been found in the garden of Mr. Bell, of St. Margaret's Street, accompanied with glass beads and an ivory pin.

No Anglo-Saxon cemetery has ever been discovered at Canterbury. A few iron spear heads, however, have been exhumed from grounds at the top of St. Martin's, on the west side. These when examined bore a striking resemblance to the iron weapons exhumed at Sarre and at Stowting.

Amongst the numerous miscellaneous articles of the date of the Roman occupation of Canterbury, found within the last few years, principally consequent upon excavations for a new system of sewage works, may be noted a choice fragment of a figured Roman glass cup, discovered in Rose Lane, near the church of Saint Mary Bredin, in 1868 (Plate 6, Fig. 4).

Under the rim of the cup, or rather fragment, are inscribed the letters MVS. Below is a beading running round the vessel, on which is delineated a charioteer in an auriga urging, with a gigantic whip, his horses at full speed. He is engaged in the sports of the circus. The glass is of a palish yellow color.

L'Abbe Cochet, in his book "La Seine Inferieure," has described an almost perfect cup of this design, found at Trouville, in Caux, exhibiting several chariots with their drivers and horses engaged in a contested race. The names of the competitors in the inscription seem somewhat barbarous, perhaps Romano-Gaulish names.

The words "Vale, vale," addressed by the victor to

his defeated competitors is plain enough, as well as "Fave," applied to the name of the successful charioteer.

These glass cups appear to have been cast in a mould, and hence, if they were not ceremonial drinking cups, they were probably made as commemorative memorials of some special chariot race, and presented by the victor to his friends, or by his friends and admirers to the victor. They could not very well be the prize itself, for, as they bear the name of the successful competitor, they must have been cast *after* the issue of the race. The letters MVS., suggest the name of MVSEVS on the example found in Canterbury.

A similar fragment forms part of the C. Roach Smith Collection in the British Museum. It closely resembles our specimen in size and design, wanting, however, the letters.

Another example, in green glass, was found in Hartlip. (See Coll. Ant., vol. 2, p. 17.) This glass vase (unfortunately it is imperfect) has two compartments, one above the other. The names of the competitors appear in each division. The upper compartment delineates the charioteer in a biga, two-horsed chariot, followed by a man on horseback. The charioteer holds a victor's wreath in his left hand. The under division exhibits a gladiator, armed with sword and shield, and his conquered antagonist holding up his hand to the preces of the games in supplication for mercy.

From all these examples we learn something of the mode in which these chariot races were conducted. Sometimes two horses, on other occasions four horses (abreast) competed. The metæ or goals are delineated. The skilful efforts of the chariot drivers was devoted to avoid collision with these metæ, placed at spots where the charioteers turned. They were set up in the circus, resting upon hollow basements, and were formed like cones. Three of these were generally placed together. The competitors having taken their places, according to lot, drove seven times round the course (spina), their chief object being to go as close as possible to the metæ without touching, thus lessening the space their horses had to run over.

Horace, ode 1, lines 4–6, alludes to this practice :—

"Metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis,
Terrarum Dominos evehit ad Deos."

M. H. Revoil, of Treves, State architect, kindly presented me with drawings and descriptions of the sports of the circus at Nismes under the Romans. He made some interesting discoveries in the Roman amphitheatre of that place consisting of three circular ornaments, or plaques, in bronze, descriptive of the sports of the circus. On one of these objects is represented a charioteer in an auriga; a palm, a sign of his victory, lies at the feet of his horses; on one of the meta, eggs seem to be placed, as offerings to Castor and Pollux.

Another of these ornaments represents a horseman at full speed; and the third a groom standing beside a horse, with various objects delineated on the ground of the design.

At the Roman level, below the surface of the streets in Canterbury, many specimens of Roman glass have been found, all, however, very fragmentary. I might note the rim of a glass vessel found in High Street, 1867 or 1868. It has a delicate line of beading running round the neck, and is of a rich purple colour. Fragments of variegated glass of a sort in which the Felix Slade Collection in the British Museum is rich have also appeared.

Glass beads, cut in facets of green and purple colour, found in the Wincheap Cemetery, and the large ribbed blue bead, generally discovered singly. (Plate 6, Fig. 2.) The specimen drawn of this bead is from Guildhall Street. A polychrome bead (Plate 6, Fig. 6), in the Canterbury Museum, found by Mr. James Reid in 1861, in the formation of an archway on the Wincheap side of the embankment of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. It is a bead of a rare type, and not above thirty or forty specimens are known to exist of this bead in this country. The writer has a fine example found at the bottom of a well in Wye in 1836; and there is one in the collection of Mr. Cecil Brent, of Bromley, probably found at Canterbury. It was procured from this neighbourhood.

In the continental museums few examples of this bead

exist. In the Louvre are two or three specimens. In the British Museum is an example, said to have been obtained from Dakkeh in Nubia. There are specimens in the South Kensington Museum, also in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and one at Caerleon. There are three or four of these beads in the Felix Slade Collection in the British Museum. There are specimens also in the Louvre, stated to have come from Egypt, as well as one or two specimens in the museum at New York.

According to Dr. Schoolcraft, examples have been found in the grave mounds of the Canadian Indians. This is an extraordinary fact, and can, I think, only be accounted for by the supposition that they originally came from the East through Scandinavia, and were brought to Canada when, in the eleventh century, the Northmen made a temporary settlement in Vinland. Their colony was subsequently destroyed by the Indians. The natives had nothing of home manufacture analogous to these beads, which are uniformly of one colour and fashion, formed of alternate layers of red, purple, and white glass, moulded together and chamfered down at each end.

Some of these beads, the Wye specimen, and one or two of those in the Felix Slade Collection, are two and a half inches in length.

Gold Ornaments.

There is no doubt that many gold ornaments belonging to the British and Celtic tribes have been from time to time found in Kent. The Medway find, recorded in the Arch. Cantiana, was an important one.

Some years since, a gold torque was found near Dover; and recently, February 1878, at Castle Mount, in a garden near the slopes of Castle Hill, was exhumed a very fine and perfect specimen of a golden armilla, for the article was doubtless worn on the arm. Its weight is twelve ounces, and it is formed of five coils.

I have in my collection a fragment, as far as it goes, identical in make and fashion with the above, found about October 1876, in the neighbourhood of Canterbury; it weighs 2 ozs., 13 dwts.

I might here note as a mediæval relic a small gold

ring brooch found in a garden in Wincheap; its date has been given as circa 1,400. Around the ring are the letters VLI, LVI, LIV, LIV, which may be connected with the inscription "Je sui ci en ler D'Ame."

Plate 10, Fig. 2, is a purple enamelled Roman brooch of circular shape, found near St. Martin's Church, December, 1864 (see similar example found at Caerleon, in Mr. Lee's "Isca Silurum"). Plate 10, a Roman brooch and pin found in front of the gate of Saint Augustine's College, 1868. The Abbe Cochet, in "La Seine Inferieure," p. 147, gives a similar example found in making a road from Auffay to Treport, 1852. The Canterbury relic shows marks of red enamelling. Plate 9, Fig. 3, a brooch, late Roman, found near or in the Martyr's Field, circa February 1860-6. The brooch is of an oval form, one and a half inches long, with a large dark oval stone, probably a rough amethyst, in the centre. The stone is surrounded by a double-edged beading or bands of ornament; it is of very uncommon type. A similar brooch was found at Wickham Brook, Suffolk, 1788, accompanied by Roman coins. Two or three examples only have occurred elsewhere.

The bronze brooches, Plate 7, Fig. 6, diamond shaped, with a cross engraved in the centre, and the brooch, crescent shaped, Plate 3, Fig. 2, were both found in Canterbury in 1868.

The bronze object with a very archaic design in the centre (Plate 10, Fig. 3) exhibits marks of enamel. As it has no catch for a pin, but the remains of a hook-like appendage are displayed at the back, it was probably intended to be fixed to strap, or some part of the dress. It is of a parallelogram shape, and the design on the face of the ornament seems to indicate two serpents. It might be Old Northern, if not Celtic.

Plate 9, Fig. 2, is a circular stud or fibula, found near Iron Bar Lane, August, 1874. It is of enamel work on bronze, with minute tesseræ let into a vitrous paste in circular compartments. It strikingly resembles the button worn by Romans on the left shoulder of the toga virilis. The colours of the field are purple, and the rim nearly resembles the hue of ancient bronze.

The first circle on the disk near the outer edge is white, with cross-shaped ornamentations. Then succeeds a ridge of gilded metal; then a circular field of dark green, with whitish designs; then follows another ridge of bronze, with minute green and white squares, with alternate white or green designs displayed within them. Some of the ornaments are chequer-like, as the squares on a chess board.

A similar object found at Usk is given by Mr. Lee in "Isca Silurum" (Plate 28.) Abbe Cochet also gives an example in "Normandie Souterraine" (Plate 15). A similar brooch is in the British Museum.

The top of another Roman chatelaine was found in a garden in St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, 1868. It exhibits enamelled chevrons in white and green (see Plate 16, Fig. 2), and may be compared with the examples previously given from the Ramsgate Road at Vauxhall. (See Plate 9, Fig. 1, Plate 10, Fig. 4.)

Plate 3, Fig. 7, is a bronze girdle clasp of an elegant pattern from Watling Street, 1868.

An elegant cross-shaped brooch is in the possession of Mr. Pool. It is probably of late Anglo-Saxon workmanship. I have been permitted to make a drawing of it. (See Plate 17, Fig. 1.) It was found in St. George's Street, 1867-8. Many modern brooches, under the title of the "Canterbury Cross," have been designed from it.

In "Coll. Ant.," vol. 4, p. 162, Mr. C. R. Smith has given an engraving of a very similar brooch or cross, which he considers to be Anglo-Saxon, found at Ixworth in Suffolk. A similar relic was found at Lakenheath, near Brandon, in the same county. The former of these trinkets so nearly resembling the Maltese Cross seems to connect their possessor indirectly with the profession of the Christian faith, especially as the Lakenheath cross bears in its centre a gold coin of the Emperor Heraclius, a Christian monarch, who reigned A.D. 610 to 641. The ornament could not have been anterior to the first of these dates.

Plate 17, Figure 2, is an elegant enamelled stud from Black Griffin Lane; the design is apparently a swan. It may not be earlier than the eleventh century, but is a

very interesting relic. It belonged originally to Mr. Pool, and was found in Canterbury, but has been transferred to the collection of Mr. John Evans. The colours of the trinket are yellow, and of a deep and a pale green.

Several Roman purses or bags have been exhumed, as proved by the circular rims of bone, which were found in the Wall Field in 1861, which have been preserved.

Plate 3, Fig. 17, exhibits the remains of a comb from Watling Street in 1878. Judging from similar ornamentations appearing upon knives, &c., and described by Mr. C. R. Smith as Roman, I should consider it of the same nationality; the more especially as it was found at a considerable depth, in close proximity to objects undoubtedly Roman.

Glass.

The objects in glass belonging to the Roman period have mostly been found in a fragmentary state. Several pieces of stained glass, some of which exhibit a beautiful amber colour, having a little ridge or elevation crossing them in a line, have been exhumed. Also a piece or two having various colours curiously blended.

In the Roman cemeteries a few glass vessels have been exhumed whole, amongst which we might note lacrymatories from St. Dunstan's; a large glass amphora from the Old Dover Road, and one or two glass vessels in my own collection, one being found in the Artillery Barracks.

A specimen or two (fragmentary) of the striated glass has occurred, one being the neck of a large bottle. The material is thin and delicate.

We might here note the finding of a crystal ball of oblong shape discovered in the Canterbury drainage, in Stour Street. It might be classed with similar objects from Anglo-Saxon graves.

Bronze.

The articles in bronze of the Roman period have been so numerous that we can only particularise the most important. The vase handles of the vessel found in Palace Street, 1868, to which allusion has been made. A small bronze celt found in the Martyr's Field of unusual type. (Plate 3, Fig. 6.) A bronze statuette, height 6 inches, found in a neighbouring hop garden.

ROMAN VASES.

HALF SIZE.

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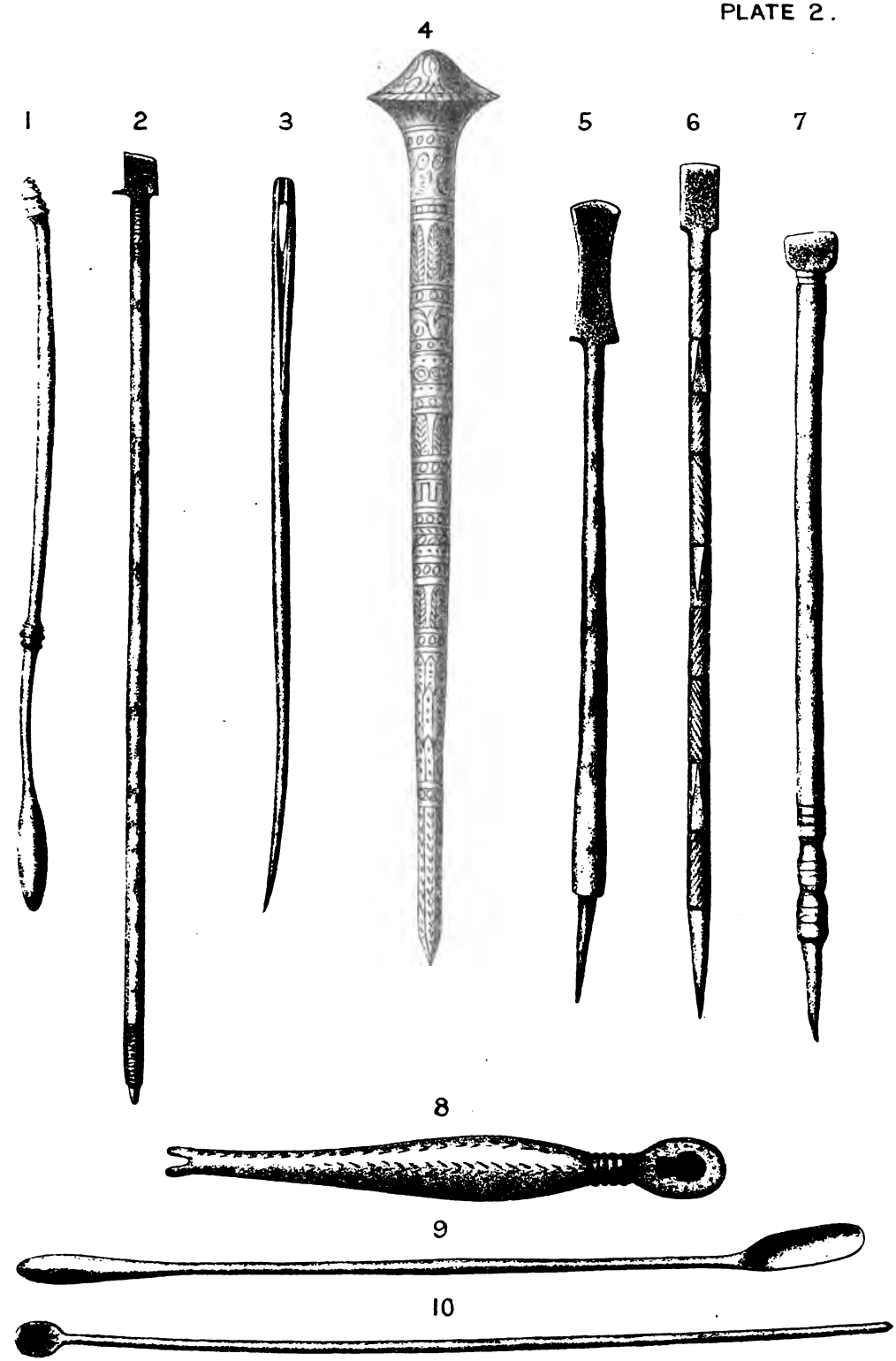
ROMAN STYLI, PINS &c

FULL SIZE.

PLATE 2.



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OBJECTS IN BRONZE

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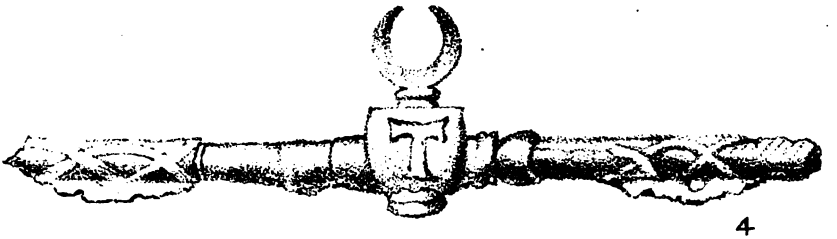

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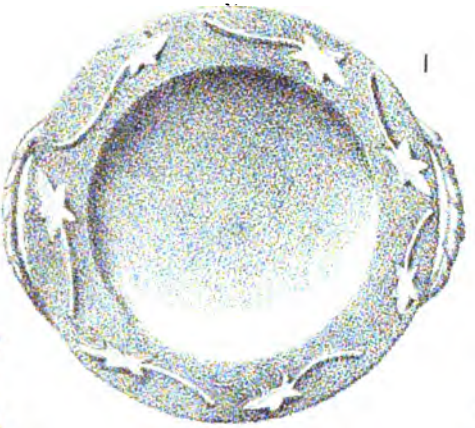
ROMAN POTTERY.



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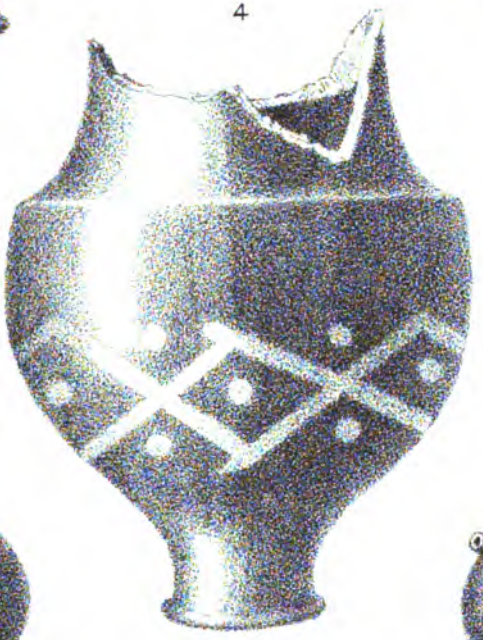

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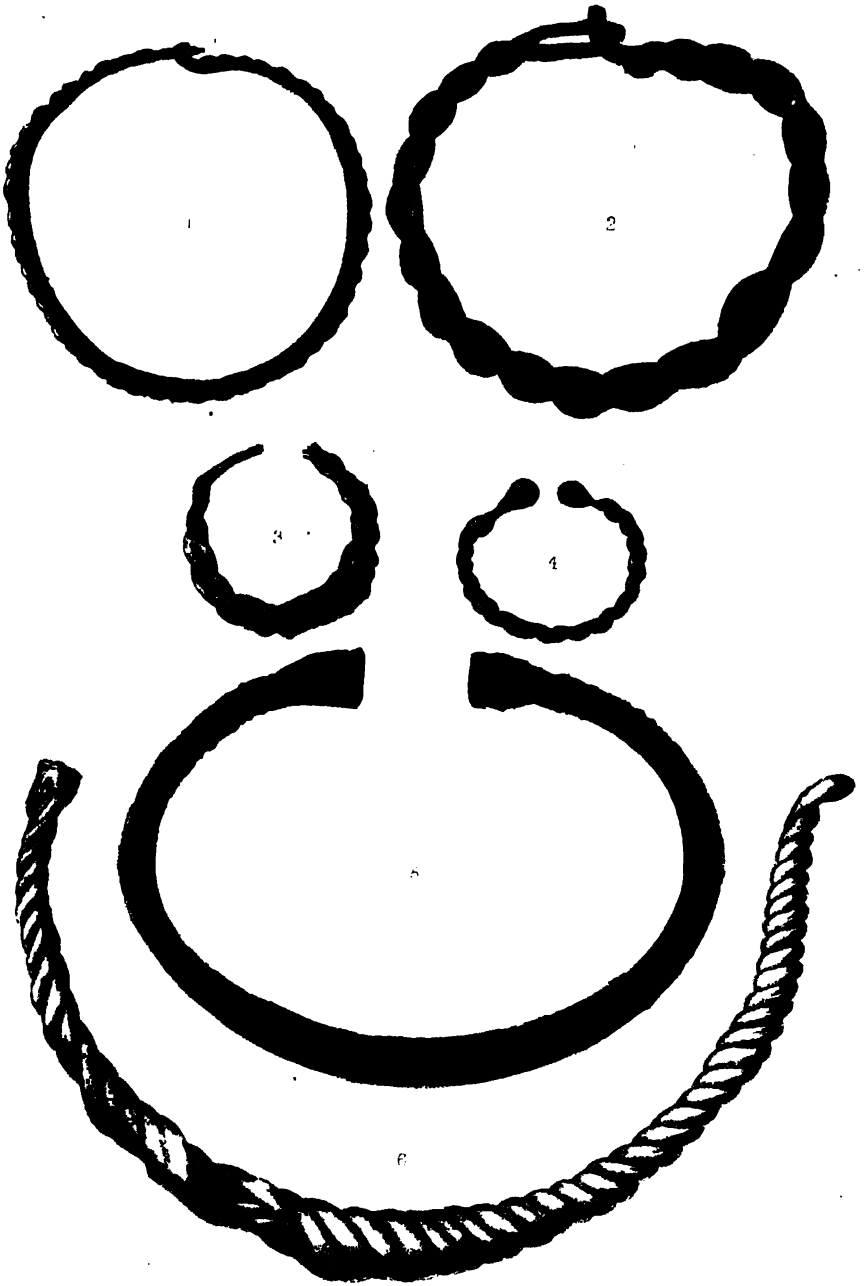

ARMILLÆ FOUND IN CANTERBURY
(Size of Originals)

C. F. Hill, lith. 8, Castle St. Holborn

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(½ lineal Size)

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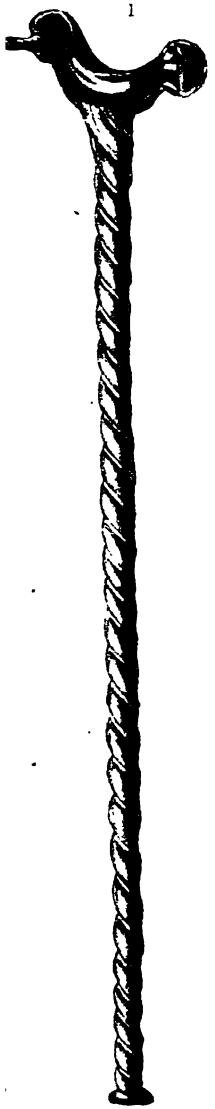

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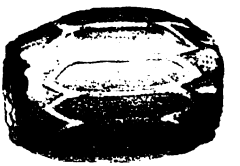

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CLASS OBJECTS.

C.F. Kell, lith. 8 Castle St. Holborn, E.C.

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BRONZE.
(Full Size)

C.F. Fell, Lith. 8 Castle St. Holborn

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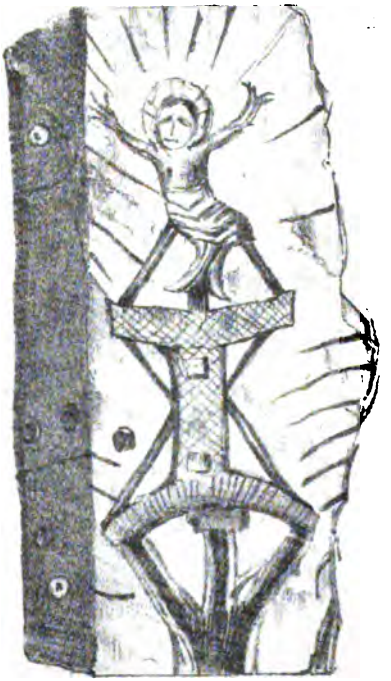

STONE MOULDS OF RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS

(½ Size)

J.F. Kell Lith. 8 Castle St. Hol

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ROMAN ENAMELLED BROCHES AND A.S. RING.

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ROMAN ENAMELLED BROCHES.

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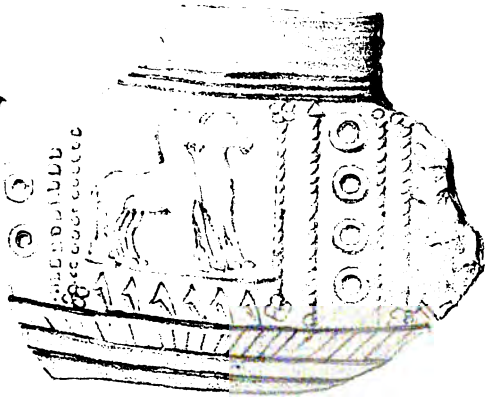

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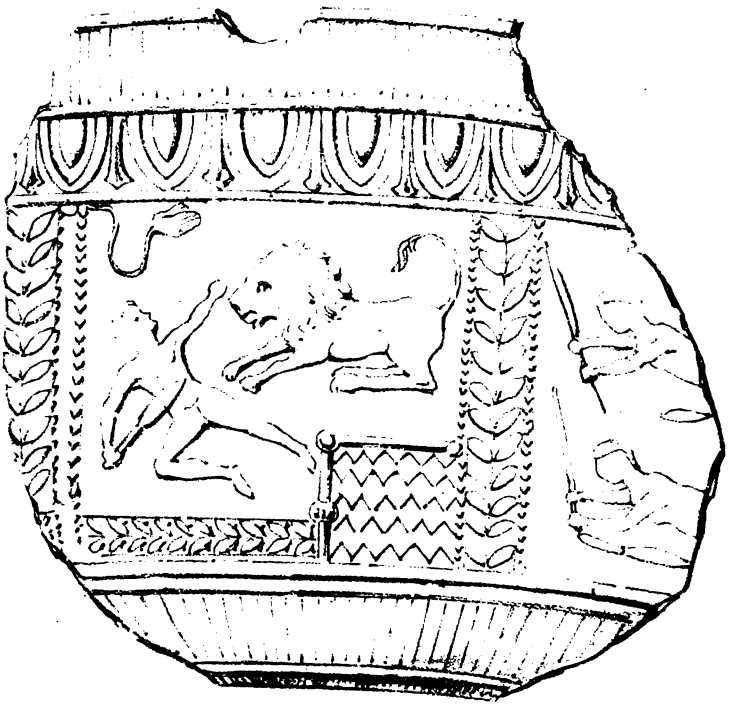

ORNAMENTED SAMIAN WARE.

C.E Kell lith, 8 Castle St Holborn E.C

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ROMAN PAVEMENT_ BURGATE.

J.T. Kell lith. 8, Castle St. Holborn, E.C.

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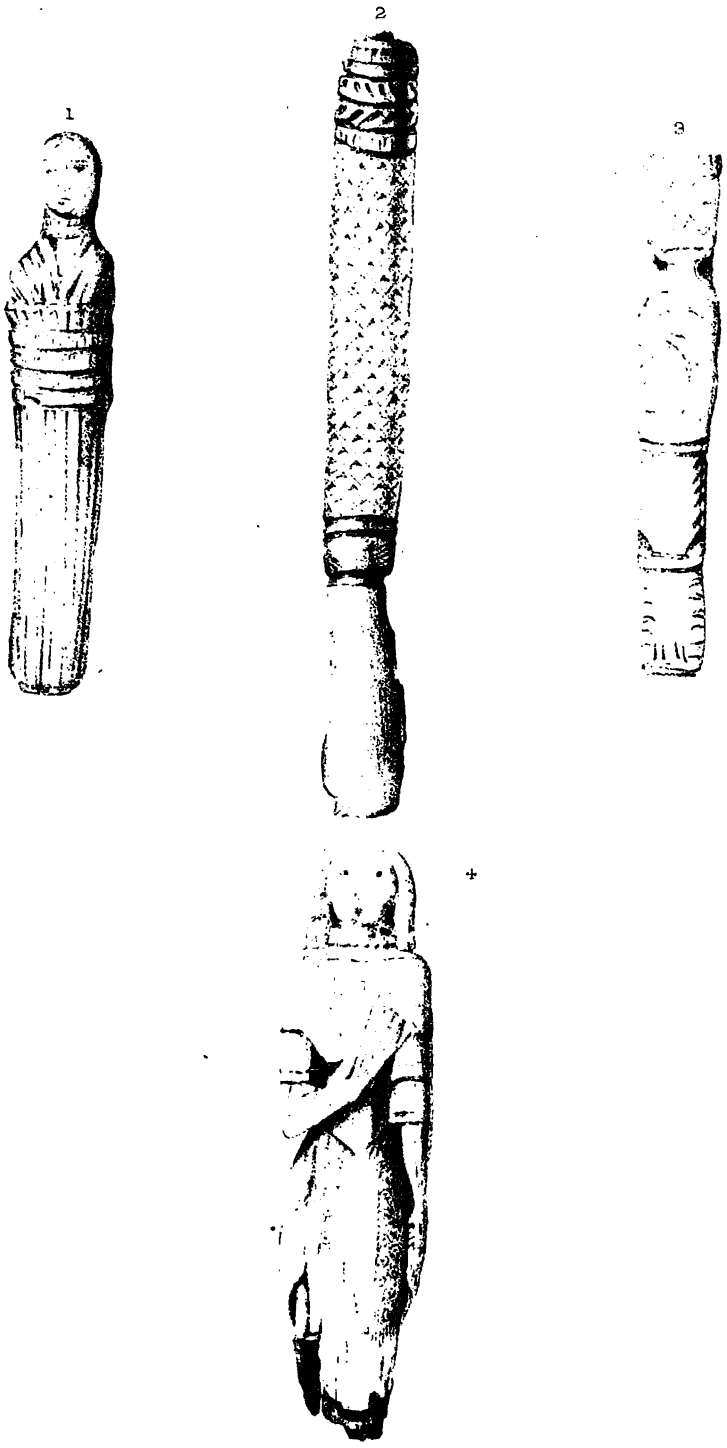

KNIFE HANDLES IVORY & BONE.

C F Kell, lith, 8, Castle St Holborn E.C.

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BROOCHES, COMB, COUNTER.

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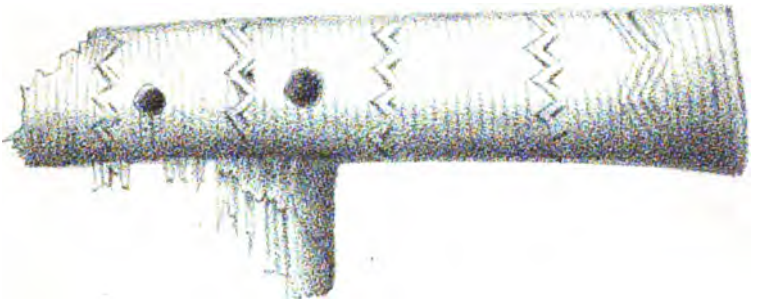

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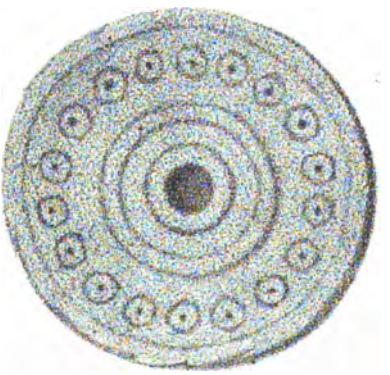

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OBJECTS IN BRONZE

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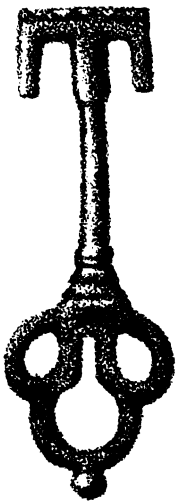

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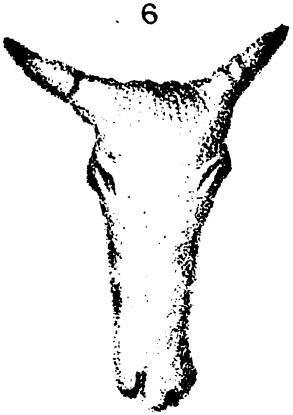

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This is an elegant figure, and undoubtedly Roman. (See Plate 3, Fig. 3.) It appears to represent Bellona. A slender little bronze balance was taken from the ruins of a house in High Street when rebuilding after the fire in 1865. Plate 7, Fig. 4, is the chape of a dagger from Mr. Pool's Collection. Door handles, clasps, pins, styli, all of Roman origin. An elegant stylus found in Canterbury Lane is given (Plate 2, Fig. 6); a brass ligula (Plate 2, Fig. 9), from the Swimming Bath, both in a high state of preservation; also a fibula of simple form (Plate 18, Fig. 5), from the same locality. Bronze needle for sewing (Plate 2, Fig. 3), bodkin (Fig. 3), tweezers, heads and limbs of animals in bronze—the latter fragmentary, have been found; buckles, handles to mirrors, and a portion of a mirror from Castle Street. This object seems made of an alloy of metal. Horse ornaments, seals, fibulæ, studs, lamps, tag of strap with buckle (Plate 3, Fig. 9), finger rings, armillæ, dagger handle. Plate 18, Fig. 1, represents a bronze latch-key, found in St. Mary's Lane, 1868. It is a delicate object, and a curious instance of such a contrivance existing amongst the Roman citizens of Canterbury. Its construction however is so slight that it could hardly apply to a street door. Plate 18, Fig. 3, is a double key in iron, latch-key and key of box; and Fig. 4, Plate 18, a finger ring, key; the two last are of iron. Fig. 6, head of an ox in bronze from Mr. Pool's Collection. Figures 5 and 7, Plate 18, are bronze harp-shaped fibulæ.

Amongst objects in iron which belonged to the Roman period we might mention—latch-keys, and box and latch-keys united, thimbles, scissors, shears, also a thumb key knives, &c.; Plate 2, Fig. 1, a bronze ligula; 2, 5, 6, 7, styli from Canterbury; Plate 2, Fig. 1, elegant Roman pin, now in the Canterbury Museum, found with relics at Gilton, Ash, introduced merely to shew the style of some of the Roman work; Plate 2, Fig. 9, bronze object for medical purposes, applicable to the small long-necked bottles; Fig. 10, probably used for the same purpose—Roman; Plate 7, Figures 1 and 3, highly ornamented bronze Roman pins; and Figures 2 and 5, bronze Roman fibulæ, from Mr. Pool's Collection.

Mediæval Remains.

It could not be otherwise than that, in the various operations of excavating for buildings, cellars, &c., numerous objects should be discovered in Canterbury connected with mediæval and later times. The larger number of these things have disappeared or passed away. However, we may note some of the metal buckles which adorned the shoes of our comfortable middle class, aldermen, councilmen, and citizens; wig pins, such as in the times of Charles the II. and Ann our gentry used for the better arrangement of their artificial hair and flowing curls; an interesting fragment of oak carving of the 17th century, being a boy holding a basket of flowers, was found in 1854, in making some repairs to the Old Chequer's Inn.*

Some ancient figures carved in oak were a few years since discovered in pulling down what remained of the house of the Knights Templars, near the Waterlock, Northgate.

Amongst ornaments, besides the little brooch of gold previously alluded to, we might mention a silver circular fibula, apparently an imitation of an object of a much older type; badges, sometimes armorial pendants, once worn by the servants and retainers of great men. Several of these, mostly enamelled, have been found in Canterbury. Their dates range from the 13th century.

The paucity of pilgrims' tokens, however, is surprising. The pilgrims chiefly came from a distance, and carried their relics home with them, yet we might expect many would have been lost, and subsequently buried in the public ways. We have two curiously incised stone moulds for casting designs connected with ecclesiastical subjects. One, formed of a siliceous grit, represents a bishop or priest on horseback, apparently bestowing his blessing, and the words "Ora pro Nobis" appear to be delineated on the horse's neck, the figure of which is imperfect.

* B. A. A. Journal, vol. 11, p. 65, 1853

If it be correct, as I have been informed, that Thomas Becket prohibited all priests from giving their blessings from the back of their palfreys, this relic must be older than his time. The style of the priest's dress is very archaic.

Mr. C. R. Smith, in his Coll. Ant., vol. 7, p. 149, gives an illustration of a relic from the collection of Mr. John Evans, D.C.L., of Hemel Hempstead, somewhat resembling our specimen. This he does not hesitate to consider as referring to Becket. The mould I illustrate most likely refers to the same prelate. It is rather singular it was found in digging out the foundations for the *present* church of St. Thomas, of Canterbury. Mr. Smith also alludes to a somewhat similar design from his own Collection, and now in the British Museum.

Plate 8, Fig. 2, is a mould with an extraordinary design upon it.* It has been assigned to the 14th century. It may represent the resurrection of our Lord, or the self-immolation of some saint. The figure on the top of the structure or cross—if cross it be intended to represent—has the head crowned with a nimbus. The feet appear to be nailed: the whole figure is distorted.

Another mould found in Canterbury, 1868, is mentioned by Mr. Pilbrow (Arch. 43, vol. 1, p. 164). It was evidently constructed for the casting of leaden tokens, and is remarkable for containing four complete moulds.

Several old English jugs and vessels have been exhumed from the Canterbury soil. One, a jug of the 13th century. A similar object is engraved in the catalogue of the Jermyn Street Museum, No. 90, page 104. The bronze rim of an alms' bag of one of the mendicant orders, 1868, was taken out from the bed of the river by Deane's Mill. It is inscribed with the words, "Qui non habet pecullum, non dabit."

A fragment of a Venetian glass cup (the old Venetian) was found near the top of Burgate Street, 1877. It is somewhat peculiar from having a purple glass bead let into a sort of floral ornament.

* In the Collection of Mr. Cecil Brent.

Several mediæval spoons or ladles have been found. On one of them the handle terminates in an effigy like an apostle spoon.

Plate 2, Fig. 8, exhibits a nail scraper in brass found in North Lane, 1878. I should have claimed it as mediæval, had I not noticed in the Museum at Brussels a similar object assigned to the Roman period.

Plate 15, Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, exhibit knife handles in bone and ivory. No. 2 is from Mr. Pool's Collection; the handle is very prettily ornamented. No. 4 is supposed to be the effigy of Catharine of Braganza, Queen of Charles II., from the mode in which the fan is displayed. The whole of the above are comparatively modern.

Plate 4, Fig. 4, is a disk of bone ornamented, probably a counter used in some game. It may be Roman. It is from the Collection of Mr. Pool.

Plate 3, Figs. 2, 5, 8, are bronze fibulæ found in Canterbury, most likely Roman. No. 9 is a bronze ornamental buckle.

Plate 3, No. 1, is a bronze purse holder drawn half lineal length found in the River Stour, near Horton, Chartham, and in the possession of Mr. Beard. It is no doubt mediæval. The capital letters "T" and "W" are marked on each side under the ring. It is probably the handle of an ancient gypsare or purse. (See incised brass plate, Christopher Klook).

Plate 5, Figures 1, 2, 5, are bronze armillæ found in Roman graves at Wincheap. Nos. 3, 4, 6, objects in gold, in the possession of Mr. Trimnell, all from Canterbury. 3 and 4 seem to be British or Celtic rings or pendants. 6 is the golden armillæ from Little Barton—described, p. 30.

Canterbury from the Withdrawal of the Romans from England to Reign of Ethelbert, King of Kent.

A DIM and uncertain light is thrown by our writers over this period of our history. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle gives but a brief relation of events. It is silent during many a decade. What these records state, however, may be considered for the most part reliable; an assurance which cannot be made in respect of other annalists who compounded for paucity of real materials by extensive draughts upon their imaginations, and upon myths and fiction.

The British history is particularly confused. Jeffery, of Monmouth, born A.D. 1152, is the most conspicuous of those writers who are unreliable. He quotes William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon amongst his authorities; but it is from his pages we principally derive the history of Britain, full of fables and romances, mingled probably with a few historical truths or traditions. He professes, indeed, to take much of his narrative from the "Brut y Brenhinoedd," a history of the Kings of Britain, found in Brittany.

History among ancient writers—Herodotus and a few others being honorable exceptions—was a species of romance, which excited the attention, and chained the imagination of its readers. Heroes like Brute, Arthur, or Merlin are adopted, and for want of any authentic history relating to them, the glamour of a poetical imagination is thrown over their lives. Their history thus becomes a sort of epic, duly embellished with its enchantments, wonders, and supernatural attributes.

Brutus, Corineus, Lud Hudibras, King Cole, and a variety of mythical persons from time to time pass across

the stage of history. The narrative of their lives and actions to the few readers of subsequent ages, if not proved to be authentic, are at least made to be entertaining.

The events which Jeffery of Monmouth has recorded took place in frequent cases many centuries before the publication of his account of them. The great mass of his readers were comparatively uneducated, criticism exacted but few conditions, and the faith of the age was the faith and credulity of children not easily to be shaken.

Odericus Vitalis followed Jeffery, Robert of Gloucester, copied him, Alfred of Beverley, born 1150, quoted him, not without expressing doubts of the authenticity of his history. William of Newburgh and Giraldus strongly opposed the propagation of the Arthuric fables; William of Malmesbury, also, who even preceded by a few years Jeffery of Monmouth, had expressed his disbelief of these old British traditions. These narratives, however, as Lappenburg informs us, were welcomed with the deepest interest by the people of England, and in the reign of Henry I., that monarch warmly promoted their adoption and belief.*

Popular writers always produce imitators, amongst whom might be noted Robert Ware, author of the "Bruté a'Angleterre" (Henry II.), and in the 13th century, Lazanion, the monk, who edited somewhat similar historical romances. The author of the "Chronicon Walliæ," and the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales, continued the wonderful history of Jeffery, or repeated portions of his narrative with a colouring of their own. Even Irish narrators, such as the author of the "Annales of Tigernach," detailed events ranging from B.C. 305 to A.D. 1088.

The Welsh triads might also be referred to. Their peculiarity of style, and enigmatical construction, suggest that they may, for the most part, be included in the list of doubtful authorities.

Gildas and Nennius, however, are the most conspicuous of annalists whose narratives have been relied on for authentic details, for the period succeeding the abandon-

* Edward I. to impress a refractory archbishop with his legal authority, proclaimed his descent from Brutus, grandson of Æneas.

ment of Britain by the Romans to the dissolution of the Heptarchy.

The late Mr. Thomas Wright, one of our most eminent antiquaries, has expressed his doubts of the veracity, nay, even of the personal existence of these writers, in accordance with the dates at which they were said to have lived.* Mr. Wright has stated that it is not easy to conceive a greater number of chronological inconsistencies in a much larger compass than we find crowded together within the life of one man.†

Nennius is described by Leland as a bishop of Bangor, born about the commencement of the 7th century, and who escaped the massacre of the monks; but here Mr. Wright demurs, and thinks the book ascribed to Nennius contains dates and allusions which belonged to a much later period. No MSS. exist of either Gildas or Nennius that conform with the dates of the periods when the writers are said to have lived. Nevertheless, we find a confirmation of many of the events of Anglo-Saxon history to which they allude in a learned and valuable paper by Mr. H. C. Coote, which appeared in the "Archæologia," vol. 44, pt. 2, p. 363. This is produced altogether from an independent authority. Gildas, Nennius, and Beda, have hitherto been considered the only original sources of that portion of history which recites the advent of the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa, in "three long ships," at the solicitation of the British Vortigern.

Mr. Coote has discovered an Italian historian writing nearly as early as Beda, who confirms in leading particulars the account of the landing of the Saxons as commonly received, and the subsequent subjugation of this island by them. In the 14th book of the "Historia Miscella," edited by Muratori, we read of the landing of the Saxons by invitation, and their subsequent domination over England. Hengist, the supposed Saxon leader, however, is ignored, and Vortigern, called in the Saxon chronicle Wyrtgeorn, is named as the *Saxon* leader. Vortigern reads Gortigern, that is, in Cymric, "Great Lord;" and Nennius calls Vortigern, Guorthigern, and

* Bede, however, refers to them, and Lappenburg, although acknowledging some inconsistencies in dates, does not consider them so unreliable.

† Biographia Brittanica Literaria, vol. 1, p. 123.

Gildas, who alludes to him as the British, *not* the Saxon, leader, described him as a tyrant who invites over the ferocious Saxons. Nennius, however, names Hengist and Horsa as the leaders of the auxiliary Saxons. Mr. Coote accounts for this narrative appearing in the pages of a Roman historian from the well-authenticated fact that, just previous to the time of this writer, the English (A.D. 700) of all classes, noble and ignoble, flocked to Rome whenever opportunity occurred, or an excuse permitted them. From them it is obvious enough that an inquiring historian might obtain the history and traditions of the country they had temporarily quitted. Far back, through the mists of legend, in Friesland and the lands thereto adjacent, existed a mythic hero called "Hengist, the Angle, who had built the Burgh of Leyden, and stormed the castle of Fin, a hero shadowy as himself. For these reasons, when the Saxons became thoroughly settled in England, the true old hero, Wyrthgeorn, or Guortigern, was deposed, and the epic hero Hengist reigned in his place.

I cannot conclude this section without alluding to a ponderous folio, written by Aylett Sammes, and published A.D. 1756, entitled "Brittania," or Antiquities of Britain. Sammes rehearses most of the histories of the writers I have mentioned, and for those desirous of studying the legends of this country from its earliest inhabitants—the giants down to the Norman conquest—Sammes is the author to refer to. He has shown great research and extensive erudition. He does not believe all, perhaps not half what he quotes, but certainly he does not closely discriminate fact from fiction. Jeffery of Monmouth, and Henry of Huntingdon, are amongst his authorities. He delights in quoting an author, then contradicting him flatly. Thus, in giving a sentence from Jeffery, Sammes observes, "That it was a most impudent lie, a great one, a heavy one, and a broad thick one."

Saxon Canterbury.

THE Jutes established in Kent, thoroughly dominating the country, and carrying their conquests to the south of England, and reinforced by kindred tribes from the north and the north-east of Europe, finally having subjected the whole country up to the borders of Wales, an inquiry arises, Where did they establish their chief settlement in Kent? We might say at Canterbury, the old Durovernum. Yet, at first, it could hardly be so. The Roman city is no longer mentioned, and, except by Latin authorities, its very name dies out; nay rather, if we are to credit Nennius, its old British or Belgic name revives, and we hear of "Caer Ceint." Then, after a time, however, appears "Cantawarabyrig," the town or city of the men of Kent. In the meantime, previous to this, and following closely upon the first settlement of the Saxons, Canterbury, the Roman Durovernum, had been ruthlessly destroyed by the barbarians—pirates, Danes, or Northmen. Mr. Faussett has suggested that the Saxon conquerors probably settled at first in one or all of the great nautical ports of the county—Richborough, Lympne, or Reculver, the latter place once a favourite residence of some of the Saxon kings, Ercombert for instance. If we are to take as data of population and occupation the fact of the existence of extensive Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, we might reasonably conclude that before the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, they were grouped in the largest masses in or near such places as Ash, Ozengell, Sarre in Thanet, and Faversham, famous for its rich and extensive cemetery, and the wilder districts of the county, such as Barham and its neighbourhood, Steventon, and Stowting. Faversham, although strangely enough so little is told of its Saxon settlers, was undoubtedly an important station. At Canterbury, no Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Pagan times has been discovered, and this is a strong proof, if it were the only one, that it did not form an important dwellingplace for

the first Saxon settlers. Chartham Downs to the south-west, Patrixbourne to the south-east of our city, are the nearest localities wherein have been discovered the burial places of the Anglo-Saxons. A distance of two miles and of three miles, seems indeed to confute any idea that these cemeteries could be attached to Saxon Canterbury. Not even an isolated grave, as far as we have been able to ascertain, has been found at or near Canterbury which may be considered of Jutish or Saxon character. Perhaps, on some of the slopes around our city, the long-looked-for graveyards are yet to be discovered, and if so, we must revise our theory, and perhaps some of our conclusions.

The great Roman roadway running just outside, if not through Canterbury, obtained its denomination of Watling Street; and under Ethelbert, the King of Kent, towards the close of the 6th century, Canterbury possessed a royal palace, a Christian church or chapel, and the remains of Roman temples. The old defences of the city had in some degree been restored, and the earth mounds or walls, the word "vallum" applying to both, had been repaired and extended.

Many a well-accustomed name now acquired significance. Burgate, the city gate, was probably the chief gate of approach to the city; and Queeningate, through which Bertha is said to have passed to her devotions in her chapel beyond the walls, obtained its appropriate denomination.

The numerous relics, such as Roman fibulæ and gold coins found at or near St. Martin's church and grounds, indicate a spot significant and important in the history of Canterbury.

Other characteristic names and localities might be mentioned if we were to adopt the authorities of certain charters,* which mention "Druting Street," supposed to be Ruttington Lane. But as these charters are chronologically false, we should mislead our readers by associating them with a descriptions of places which might have had no existence at the dates they profess to refer to.

* "The monks of Saint Austin were great adepts in forgery," Arch., 23, 378.

To give anything like a map or plan of Canterbury at this early period of the Saxon domination would be manifestly absurd. First, because we are unable to make out with certainty the limits of the old Roman town; and secondly, because we are ignorant, saving with a few exceptions, what the Saxons added to this settlement, or found it necessary to curtail.

We do not even know their method of defence, or whether they appropriated any portion of the Roman walls, if any were left standing.

It was not until some centuries later, A.D. 1011, that walls are mentioned, when, Roger Hovenden informs us, that the besieging Danes hurled the citizens from them. Ethelbert's charter indeed speaks of the "East Wall of the city," but this document is unreliable as an authority.*

The earliest buildings which can be authenticated are the church or temple at St. Martin's, St. Pancras, and the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards St. Augustine, and the Cathedral.

As the population increased, the times became more settled. It was two or three centuries, however, before the latter condition could be affirmed. Numerous churches arose, chantries, ecclesiastical buildings, hospitals, leper houses, and royal and other mints.

Walls were probably in existence in the time of the Conqueror, yet to substantiate this fact we have only the terms "circuitus" and "fossatum," which are more applicable to earth mounds and their defences, than to masonry of brick and stone. Houses are recorded in the survey "as lying waste in the ditch of the city,"† but this would rather apply to dwellings thrown down from the slopes of earthworks, upon which they had been temporarily or intrusively erected than to houses built on walls. Even in the time of King John, wood to make hurdles or wattles (*cleias*), keys or spikes, were enjoined to be provided for the defences of the city by Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciary—stockades, in fact, which would prove the defences were not walls of stone or brick.

Lambarde speaks of gates and walls as having been

* See Spelman and Sir Henry Ellis.

† "Burgenses vastati in fossato civitatis." (*Domesday Book.*)

repaired in the time of Lanfranc, and afterwards, Simon of Sudbury is said to have raised the wall (of flint and concrete) and the west gate on the west side of the city. Lambarde adds, the city was not wholly walled at this period; and in the reign of Richard II., Simon Burley, warden of the Cinque Ports, advises that the societies of St. Augustine and of Christ Church, for want of walls, be removed for security to Dover Castle. Nevertheless, Eleanor, mother of Richard I., in the time of her son's captivity, gave orders for fortifying the city, and directs letters to that effect to the clergy and the citizens.

The institutions of our early governments—Saxon, Danish, and Norman—exhibit more or less the spirit impressed upon them by Roman influence and by Roman conquest. The imperial ensigns had passed away, but the feudal tenures of Gaul and Britain, the knights' services, the knightly order itself, the pennon, and the oriflamme, reflect the spirit and influence of that great power which, once dominating over half the then known world, inspired the thoughts and lighted up the imaginations of the rudest peoples.

In the commercial world also the same imposing influence prevailed, for guilds and municipal institutions owe their existence to Roman example.

According to Lappenberg,* landed property in England under the Anglo-Saxons was distributed into bocland and folcland. The first described estates by inheritance; the second was the property of the public, not hereditary, and probably parcelled out to individuals in the Folkegemot or court of the district.—p. 404.

King Ethelwulph, father of Alfred, according to Sharon Turner, appears to have made the first provision for the poor (Poor Law). He ordered throughout all his lands that in every ten manors one poor person should be maintained in food and clothing as long as the county contained men and cattle.*

The houses of the people of Kent at this time were built of wood, and thatched with reeds or straw. The house of the Thane had a large apartment, the scene of entertainment by day, the resting place of the servants and followers by night. In the centre of this room was

*Note 426, vol. 1.

a rude and spacious fire-place, with a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. Smaller apartments received the master and his family.

In the reign of King Edward, there were some good buildings and ecclesiastical structures in stone or brick. Westminster Abbey now arose from out of the marshes by the Thames. The houses of the common people were rude and simple enough. The chimney stood in the middle of the chief room, if there were more than one, and the floors were strewn with rushes, if these were anything better than the bare ground.

There is very little doubt but that even from a remote period Canterbury was under municipal institutions.* Such was the practice of Roman governments; and as the Curiales, or Senators, presided in the towns of Gaul and Germany long after the Roman power was broken and her legions were swept away, so the Duumviri, or Roman magistrates of cities in Britain, were afterwards represented in the two Bailiffs, and the Prefects, who continued to act even under that name, or as Reves, in the Anglo-Saxon communities.

Day after day we find fresh proofs how complete at one time was the Roman occupation of England; and how deeply the genius of this people had stamped itself upon the manners, and into the very heart and feelings of the inhabitants of this country. The subjected British Kings became Roman tributaries; and the existence of Roman villas, scattered far and wide over the land, and found even in unprotected localities, prove that possession was accompanied for a lengthened period by comparative security. As in many cases the Saxons succeeded peaceably to the possessions of the Romans, many of the Roman towns, stations, and buildings were for some time preserved. Such indeed were their roads and bridges, some of which remain to the present day. The arts and industry of this people were not unsuccessfully imitated by their successors, so much so, that in pottery, glass, personal ornaments, and even weapons, the antiquary is often at a loss to decide to which nation to assign them. Wars and the irruption of savage hordes destroyed, after a time, the Roman towns and

* See "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," p. 437.

edifices, as in the instances of Uriconium, Richborough, and other places.

The comitiæ or public assemblies at Rome consisted of two sorts—one, denominated the conscio, where the people assembled, were addressed upon some particular question, but were not required to vote, and the comitiæ, whereat measures were submitted to them for their approval or rejection. We are, however, uncertain whether the Roman magistrates ever held meetings of this description in England.* The Duumviri of the Roman period were afterwards represented by the two Bailiffs of early English times.

Canterbury was for a time the metropolis of the kings of Kent, and of the Jutes, the most enlightened of the Anglo-Saxon settlers in this country. Afterwards it was presided over by a Prefect, or by an officer called a Portreve (Portgerefa). Thus in a charter of Christ Church, dated A.D. 780, we find Adhunc mentioned as Prefect; and A.D. 956, the name of Hlothewig, Portreve, appears in a deed of sale in Canterbury. In the time of Ethelred, the "Præpositus Regis" is said to have been taken prisoner by the Danes. Domesday Book, compiled, according to Sir Henry Ellis, about A.D. 1086, mentions Brumannus as Prefect of the city in the time of King Edward. This Governor wrongfully, as it was found, took customs of foreign merchants,† in the lands of the Holy Trinity, and in those of Saint Augustine. It is also manifest from the "Survey," that as the Burgesses held of the King thirty-three acres "in gildam suam," there existed a sort of mercantile fraternity, and this rude union for civic or commercial purposes was, doubtless, a step towards a municipal government, or rather an attempt at the revival of one of its Roman institutions. This fraternity held also forty-five mansions without the city, of which they had rent and custom; the King had the "sac and soc," that is—the administration of criminal justice. This was in the time of Edward the Confessor; but, at the period of the "Survey," Ranulf de Columbeis was in possession

* Ramsay, p. 104,

† "Extraneis mercatoribus"—foreign merchants, traders, not of the city, or that part of the country, vendors of goods, not unlike modern pedlars.

of these houses and lands. The civil and criminal jurisdiction, as well as the territorial possession of the city, was divided between the King, the Archbishop, and the Abbot of Saint Augustine.

The King possessed Burgesses paying rent, and two hundred and twelve others, over whom he had only the "sac and soc." Houses, we are told, at this period laid destroyed in the ditch—probably from hostile assault. There were three mills belonging to the King, yielding a hundred and eight shillings, and toll worth sixty-eight—a somewhat valuable property for that period. Lands there were belonging to the King's Lieutenant (Legator Regis); and of unproductive woods, 1000 acres. In the whole, in the time of King Edward, the city was worth fifty-one pounds; and when Haimo the Sheriff, William's officer, received it, it produced fifty pounds. At the time of the Survey it was worth thirty pounds, refined and weighed, and twenty-four pounds by computation. Over and above all these, the Sheriff had one hundred and ten shillings.

Ranulf de Columbeis, or Columber, appears subsequently to have dispossessed the Burgesses of the lands held for their guild, and committed other acts of spoliation; in warrant for all which he appealed to the Bishop of Baieux, the Conqueror's brother. Doubtless the above Ranulf was some Norman favourite—(a Columber fought at Hastings)—who claimed the possessions of certain citizens of Canterbury as his share of the spoil over the Saxon population, and gave the authority of the Conqueror's brother to sanction his usurpation. Ranulf de Curbespine, probably another adventurer, had become possessed of four mansions, which a certain favourite of King Harold had held. The same Ranulf held also other possessions, once belonging to Esbernbiga.

Odo, as Earl of Kent, seems at one time to have exercised a princely authority. "Earls were his retainers, and Bishops his dependants." Inheriting the possessions held by Godwin and others in the time of Edward the Confessor, he exercised the authority and abused the prerogatives his predecessors possessed.

The Survey then relates, that through the whole city

King Edward had the "sac and soc," except on the lands of the Holy Trinity, and of Saint Augustine, and of Ediva the Queen, Alnod the Childe, or Prince, Esbernbiga, and Syred de Silleham. This Syred of Chilham is supposed by Mr. Henschell to have been the celebrated Earl of Northumberland, Sewart the Bold.

At this period there were in Canterbury three constituted authorities at least:—The Sovereign (represented by his Prefect), the Archbishop, and the Abbot, holding not perhaps conflicting, but separate jurisdictions—each having over certain districts the "sac and soc," with other privileges incidental to the administration of justice in feudal times; so that in the city—consisting at that time of the Castle, the Church of the Holy Trinity, the great Augustine Monastery, and a few other ecclesiastical establishments, among which we might note a church to Saint Martin; several small water mills, being little more than wooden sheds with water wheels; a cross or two to indicate that markets were held there for the sale of rushes, corn, fruit, or merchandise; and perhaps four or five hundred houses of the rudest construction—there were three separate Courts of Justice, and Mints, where the King, the Archbishop, and the Abbot coined money. All these were comprised within a comparatively small circuit. Thus, a criminal crossing a street, or stepping over some invisible boundary, might escape from the jurisdiction of the power where he had committed his offence, and, taking advantage of the jealousy of privilege incidental in such a state of things, evade justice altogether. On the other hand, where conviction followed, punishment was severe and summary—branding, mutilation, or else imprisonment in foul and loathsome dungeons, for the most trivial offences; death, likewise, by pit or gibbet, criminals being hanged or drowned at Canterbury, or buried alive in sand at Sandwich, and hurled over a cliff at Dover, formerly called "Sharp Ness," for offences which would be now commuted for a trifling fine, or a few months' imprisonment. Under the old Saxon laws, however, money could almost always purchase immunity; there being scarcely an offence which could not be expiated by a fine.

Mr. Henschell, in his work on South Britain, taking

into calculation the Domesday Returns for Chartham, Sturry, Longport, and Saint Martin, finds attached to each certain mansions in the City of Canterbury; and from this concludes that in the time of King Edward, the city contained five hundred and thirty-one Burgesses. The knights of the Archbishop, Abbots, and privileged nobles, with their attendants, and the ecclesiastics, added to the amount of the inhabitants.

The Monks of the Holy Trinity and of Saint Augustine had each a market frequented by merchants. Many of these merchants were of the condition of hucksters, bearing a pack* wherein they stored their goods. To these might be added a host of serfs and dependents. The clients or serfs also of Queen Ediva, Alnod, Syred of Chilham, and Esbernbiga, most numerous in those days, when the great distinction of the aristocracy consisted in outward state and circumstance, increased the number of the inhabitants. At this period, the ecclesiastical orders were the great conservators of industry and trade, and in some degree the protectors of the civil rights of the community.

The houses of "Old Canterbury," in the Anglo-Saxon and early Norman times, were probably nothing more than dwelling places built of wood and thatched with reeds. The house of the Thane, or man of superior caste, consisted of one large apartment which was the hall of hospitality in the day and the resting place of the servants at night; while a smaller apartment, with scarcely better accommodation, received the master.

The palaces of the Saxon kings were said to have consisted of series of separate buildings, little better than sheds, ornamented perhaps with a few gilded pinnacles. The ecclesiastical buildings were scarcely superior. Edgar, in his Charter to the Abbey of Malmesbury, A.D. 974, recites "that Monastries in his realm were nothing but worm-eaten and rotten boards;" yet Bede gives a far more favourable account of the cities, castles, and churches of England in earlier times, when extensive remains of the genius, industry, and power of the Romans survived, which, if they availed not to influence the taste of their successors, supplied them with ample

* "Mercator trusellum deferens." Domesday, Chester, p. 263. a. 1.

materials for the erection of more substantial and enduring buildings. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, church architecture was much improved, and Westminster Abbey was rebuilt of stone on the site of the more ancient edifice.

Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop, appears to have obtained the city of the King, in a spiritual sense, "in beneficium," while the King's Prefect presided over its civil interest. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, held it in a more absolute manner, it being bestowed upon him by William Rufus, "in allodio," for the Church at Canterbury, and for the benefit of his soul, when in a penitential mood under grievous bodily sickness. About this time, Calveal, the Portreve, is mentioned as being a witness with the Archbishop to a deed, wherein the knights, or chief men of the guild of merchants, join in an exchange of certain houses in Canterbury with the Monks of Christ Church.

The clergy in Canterbury had a species of corporation or guild of their own,* a chapter, in fact, with larger powers. The ecclesiastics seemed also the greatest owners of ships; they were the great encouragers of trade and promoters of industry. On the other hand, the nobles and tenants in capite were too often guilty of oppression towards all but their military retainers.† "Laws, indeed, were but little defined, or understood anywhere." Oral traditions and established opinions, or rather the wills and passions of the great proprietors of the soil, chiefly prevailed.

The civic government of Canterbury, about A.D. 1215, was represented by two Bailiffs. At first they were non-elective, and were appointed by the Sovereign, until the reign of Henry III. The charter granted by Henry II is the earliest document of that description existing in the city archives. This charter, however, in many instances, seems rather to have confirmed privileges existing in the reign of previous monarchs, than to have primarily bestowed them. It grants to the citizens that none of them shall be called upon to plead without the walls of the city, of any plea, except pleas of outward

* "Clerici in gildam suam." Domesday Book. Gild, guild, from the Saxon word "gildan," to pay.

† Henshall, p. 10—12.

tenure, excepting the King's moneyers and servants. It gives to the citizens quittance of murder in the city and in the portsoke, "that they should have the privilege of justice administered to them, whether civil or criminal, within the city walls." The charter further directs, "that none of them shall wage battel," and "that they shall be quit of lastage and toll throughout all England, and through all the ports of the sea." The King alludes in this charter to his "Sheriff of Canterbury"—this being the first official mention of such an officer. The Sheriff alluded to in the "Survey," was doubtless the Sheriff of the county. A.D. 1234, the Bailiffs became elective.

Henry III. not only confirms all previous franchises and liberties, but directs the city to be held of him in "fee farm," by the payment of sixty pounds per annum —the gates, walls, ditch, and all messuages, lands, rents, tolls, markets, and tenements whatsoever, in which the King had any rights, being thenceforth absolutely vested in the citizens. He also conferred upon them the power of choosing their Bailiffs among themselves.

By a return to a "Quo Warranto," 21st Edward I., it appears the citizens claimed to have the return of writs, assize of bread and ale, pillory, tumbrill, and gallows—the right of "hanging," as the latter term indicates, being esteemed in those days a privilege more valuable than the possession of the elective franchise. The jurors on this occasion, although the privilege of holding a fair, right of waif, and having a gallows do not appear to be specified in the above, or in any previous charter, made a return to the effect that such liberties were annexed to the city at the time the aforesaid charter was granted.

From this period Canterbury rose to the dignity of a first-class municipal community. Her magistrates exercised the power of determining causes, civil and criminal; and, subject only to the fee farm rent, the city became absolutely vested in the citizens and their governing authorities.

Subsequent charters could add but little to these privileges, although they varied the style, title, and numbers of the municipal body.

Henry VI., by charter, A.D. 1448, grants to the citizens the privilege of electing a Mayor instead of two Bailiffs, as heretofore, "to govern the city and the King's Courts as the Bailiffs do, to assess tallages* upon the goods of all men of the city and suburbs for the profits and necessities of the said city," with some few privileges in addition, such as the appointment of sergeants at Mace, these being the executive officers of the Mayor and Sheriff.

A.D. 1498, Henry VII. increases, by charter, the number of Aldermen to twelve, the cofferers four, afterwards reduced to one, were the predecessors of the officer called the Chamberlain.

Edward IV., by charter, grants and confirms all the privileges conceded by his predecessors, Henry IV. and Henry V., although he styles them Kings "de facto," and not "de jure." He remits also to the citizens part of the fee farm, or annual rent due to the Crown, namely £16 13*s.* 4*d.*, and constitutes Canterbury, with the exception of Stablegate and the Castle, to be a county of itself. He constitutes the Bailiff nominated by the Mayor to be Sheriff of the County of Canterbury.

Subsequent Sovereigns confirm the same, and Henry VII. exonerates the city from the remainder of the fee farm rent, subject, however, to a payment to the Hospital at Harbledown, and that the Mayor support the Town Clerk, Sergeants at Mace, and Keeper of the Prisons in meat and drink. He increases the number of Aldermen from six to twelve, and reduces the Common Councilmen from thirty-six to twenty-four. In this charter the names of the respective officers such as "Town Clerk," "Chamberlain," and "Common Pleader," occur.

The privilege of electing a Mayor seems to have been somewhat tardily conceded to a city so important as Canterbury, which although even at that period surpassed by many civic communities in trade and in commercial enterprise, was inferior to few in historic associations, and superior to all in ecclesiastical dignity. The Mayoralty in London dates from A.D. 1188, if not

* Tallages—taxes by customs levied by the Norman Kings on the towns, in gross, or individually, by the Judges itinerant, without sanction of Parliament.—*Hallam.*

earlier—Henry Fitz Aylwin being the first civic governor on record who bore that title in England. Winchester dates its Mayoralty from the reign of Henry II.; yet although the charter of Henry VI., A.D. 1448, seems to be the first declared authority for bestowing the title of Mayor upon the chief civic authority, we find precepts among Parliamentary and other writs issued from the Crown addressed to the "Mayors of Canterbury" nearly two centuries previous. Thus, A.D. 1273, 2nd Edward I., the writ is directed to "the Mayor and Citizens of Canterbury," for a Parliament at Shrewsbury. In A.D. 1319, a writ "de expensis" is directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs." The same, A.D. 1320.

From the above, we must conclude that the writs were issued without due attention to the style and form, rather than that the chief authority in Canterbury, previous to the date of Henry's charter, bore the title of "Mayor" in the public records of the kingdom.

To the uncertainty and conflicting claims of jurisdiction in the towns, we might add the general uncertainty of the laws in England. Under the kings of the Heptarchy, various differences prevailed, and when the whole kingdom was united under one Sovereign, the anomalies did not cease. In the east and in the north, Danish laws prevailed; in the Midland counties the Mercian laws existed; in the western and southern districts, the Saxon laws. The arbitrary will of the Conqueror outrode all obligations, except where the still more oppressive and harassing jurisdiction of the nobles and tenants in capite in remote districts, and beyond his immediate control, reigned paramount.

Norman Canterbury.

GREAT oppression prevailed in England under the earlier years of the Norman dynasty. Hallam informs us the Conqueror was more arbitrary than his sons. Under plea of taking precautions against invasion from Denmark, he had laid waste the whole country from the Tyne to the Humber. "The feudal law in England now prevailed with far more oppressive force than it ever did on the Continent. Men were fined for the king's good-will, or that he might remit his anger, or to have his mediation in divers matters. Fines were even exacted that men might simply have justice done them—that they might sue in a certain court, that they might compleat a certain person. For the king's favour or help against an adverse suitor, Dangeld was levied even after the conquest, and where the king spared, the feudal lord stepped in to complete the spoliation of the serf, or minor tenant. Even at a later period fines were levied, as Hallam informs us, even in sport. Thus, the Bishop of Winchester was fined a tun of good wine for not reminding King John to give a girdle to the Countess of Albemarle; and Robert de Vaux had to contribute five of his best palfreys to bribe the same monarch to hold his peace about Henry Pinel's wife."

Judicial justice was often sold, and tallage was levied by the itinerant judges at their pleasure, without the sanction of law, upon towns and individuals.

Darkly has Matthew Paris drawn the picture of the great barons of the times of the Norman Kings—the Front De Beufs, of romance, the Falco de Brents of history, little better than robbers and oppressors, with more of ruthlessness and daring. Their retainers were as bad. The barons, to use the words of the old chronicler, "filled their castles with devils." And yet another picture has been drawn, and eloquently too, and doubtless with some colouring of truth, by a writer in the Quarterly Review, No. 205, a portion of which we cannot refrain from quoting, with abridgment.

"Magnificent was the position of the baron of England in the 12th & 13th centuries. Great lords crowded to his palace, retainers swarmed in the town. The mornings were spent in huntings and tournaments, his afternoons in free carousals and revelry. Banners everywhere met the eye, glittering with the chequered gold and azure of the Warrenes, or the three red chevrons of the Clares. At such meetings in Winchester, or in Westminster or Canterbury, or other antique places, foreign wars and home grievances were discussed, and the wardships of rich damsels were begged of the king. At home in his county, amongst his knights and retainers, our baron was a still greater personage. He held periodically his 'curia baronis' to try causes, wherein he exercised, if of the higher class, his privilege of 'sacha and socha,' 'thol and theme,' and 'infangethef.' He had a petty regal state of his own, with his 'dapifer' or 'seneschal,' his chamberlain and other officers."

And yet in some minds, on some occasions, a change came over all this dream of state. Powerful lords stripped themselves of their coats of mail, and retired to religious houses or died monks. You wandered out from a hall where minstrels were singing to lords and ladies, and you were startled in a wood by the tinkling of a leper's bell. In the same social state, a De Bohun rode out at the head of his followers to steal cattle, whilst a De Braouse would salute any children he met, "to the end that he might in return have the benediction of the Innocents." One lord arrives from the Crusades with the neighbouring convert, singing, "Benedictus ille qui venit in nomine Domini," whilst another invades the lands of the Bishop of Durham, at the head of a troop of rascals, kills his game, breaks open his cellars, and permits his followers to get drunk with his wine.

Henry III. called Hugh Bigod a traitor; Hugh told him "he lied," adding, "If you do nothing more than what the law warranteth, you can do me no harm." "Yes," said the king, "I can send men to thresh your corn, and humble you." "If you do," said the baron, "I will send you the heads of your threshers."

Horse racing—the horses ridden by lads, reviews for

military exercises, sham fights, nay, even agricultural shows, at which implements of husbandry, and beasts remarkable for size and fatness, were exhibited in London in the time of King Stephen; boar fights, bull fights, and cock fights prevailed; and doubtless Canterbury, in some degree, emulated the metropolis.*

* For a description of London in the 12th century, I refer my readers to Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. 2, p. 607, to the "Liber Albus," and the "Chronicle of Fitz Stephen."

Constitutional and other Privileges—Civil Liberty of the Community.

The cities and towns of England, especially those endowed with municipal privileges, nourished a love of independence and an attachment to liberty, which fostered the growth of constitutional rights.

The "Free Man" (Homo Liber), who in Domesday Book, amongst the Villani, Servi, and Bordarii, forms so small a portion of the population of the realm, was not more extensively represented in Kent during the reigns of the first Norman Kings. With the exception of the ecclesiastics, we might find two classes only:—the Earl, Thane, Vavasour, and other tenants, with their subtenants, who were in some cases a species of landlords; and another class embracing all the rest of the people, who were either absolutely prædial slaves or cotters living on waste lands, or renting small pieces of ground, for which they performed offices both menial and servile to the lords of the soil, if any might be called lords of the soil where the King, theoretically at least, claimed all the land.

An exception has indeed been pleaded for Kent; and it would be most gratifying were it but true, "that while the great body of the English people were reduced to a state of slavery by our Norman conquerors, the Kentish man enjoyed the full blessings of liberty." In proof of this has been adduced the "Custumal of Kent," an ancient document, which proclaims that "All the bodies of Kentish men be free, as well as the other free bodies of England." We think this proves nothing more than that Kent was no exception to the rule, that there were "free men" among the various classes of which the community was composed. Mr. Robinson, however, says "the Kentish men had a well-founded claim of exemption from villenage," and refers to a case,* wherein a de-

*30th Edward I., Fitzh Villenage, p. 46.

fendant pleading she was free solely because her father was born in Kent, the court without further inquiry gave judgment in her favour, "for there were no villeins in Kent." The Survey of Domesday, however, makes a very different statement. In that record, the whole population of Kent is returned as 12,205; of this, the class Villani compose 6,597 persons, the Servi 1,148, and the Bordarii 3,118; a total of 10,863 persons in a servile condition (for the bordarii were but one degree only more independent than the villani), out of a population of 12,205. This statement even exceeds the aggregate proportions of the whole of the counties surveyed in the Record, in which the villani do not much average above one-third; whereas in Kent we find they exceed one-half of the population. One of two conclusions only remains to be adopted, either that in respect to Kent, at least, the Survey was erroneously composed; or that shortly after its compilation the Kentish men were emancipated from the feudal restrictions. Of this we certainly have no account; on the contrary we find that feudal tenures were generally adopted throughout England from the time of the first Great Council, A.D. 1086,* about the date of the Domesday Record.

Thus, in spite of Magna Charta, subsequently granted, which after all gave protection and privileges to one class, and that one comparatively a small class only, feudal tenures remained the law of the land, nominally at least, down to a recent period. Many of their conditions had doubtless fallen into abeyance, and had ceased to be enforced; yet Knights' Service, Escuage, Tenures by homage, Wardships, Liveries, Primer Seisins, Ouster Liveries, Values and Forfeitures of Marriage, as well as Aids upon the knighting of the King's son, or the marriage of his daughter, are all enumerated as part of the law of England in that Act of Charles II. by which they are recited in order to be repealed.†

"Trial by Battel" remained on the Statute Book until recent times. It was formally repealed in 1819, having by a criminal indicted for murder been successfully claimed to his aid.

* Blackstone.

† Sandys' 'Consuetudines Cantiæ,' see also, Russell 'on the Constitution.'

Canterbury, although the ancient capital of Anglo-Saxon Kent, did not escape the influence of Norman customs. The territorial influences of the great land-owners more or less invaded the independence even of chartered communities.

There are many very suspicious entries in the decrees of the Court of Burghmote; and some of the principal citizens, nay even the Aldermen themselves, were, at one time, desirous of entering into the service, or becoming the retainers, of some "worshipful man," or powerful ecclesiastic. A Court of Burghmote, held A.D. 1572, decrees "That if any Alderman or Common Councilman shall take *any livery*, or be retained as servant to any nobleman, or man of worship, then every such Alderman or Common Councilman shall be discharged from his office and from this Court."

The assumption of the "livery" of some great man appears to have served as a pretext to certain members of the Corporation to evade the fines which had been ordered to be levied upon their resignation of office; for in the 18th Elizabeth it is recorded, that Alderman Leeds was called before the Court, and asked if he intended "to depart his office?" To which he replied in the affirmative, informing the Corporation "that he had taken My Lord Archbishop's *cloathes* for that purpose"—a discreditable way, truly, of determining an office of such dignity!

This act, and similar ones, perhaps, called for a special remedy. Accordingly, the Burghmote resolved the same year "that no one without license of the Court shall take upon himself office as retainer to any nobleman or man of worship, or wear his livery, on pain of forfeiting twenty pounds to the Chamber, unless he minded and do go out of the city to dwell." The order further enjoins, "that every one from the time of wearing his apparel contrary to this decree, shall be no more of this house; . . and not going out of the city, shall be imprisoned until he hath paid his fine, and if after one month he do not pay, he shall be disfranchised and imprisoned, and treated as a foreigner"—that is, deprived of the civic franchises, if not placed beyond the pale of the municipal laws themselves.

There are various decrees of Burghmote wherein provision is made for the vacating of their offices by members old and infirm, or when reduced to poverty.

An order in Burghmote, dated 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary, regulates the personal appearance of the members of the Court. Every Alderman is enjoined after he be sworn in, "to wear one gown of scarlet colour furred with black boge,* but when chosen Mayor he shall wear such gown as hath been accustomed to be worn by the Mayor, or forfeit ten pounds." The female sex are likewise provided for. The Mayor is in the same reign enjoined to provide his wife with a scarlet gown and a velvet bonnet. We find, A.D. 1580, a similar order is made by the Corporation of Winchester, the Lady Mayoress being supplied by her husband "with a scarlet gown, to be worn on festival days, and on other times accustomed."

By the 9th of Elizabeth, Aldermen coming into the Burghmote wearing their hats, are to be fined sixpence. In the 39th of the same sovereign, the household of the Mayor is increased at the public expense, a "state cook being provided for him, and such Aldermen, and the Sheriff, who have need."

A few years later vension feasts are abundant among the Corporation, and gifts of fat bucks from Lord Maidstone, Lady Wotton, and others, become frequent. A.D. 1630, Archbishop Laud gives a buck to the city, "according to the usage of his predecessors," and 20*s.* is recorded as paid to his keeper, and 2*s.* expended "in baking pasties." A.D. 1634, Lord Winchelsea gives a buck, and 4*l.* 12*s.* is expended in eating him. Lady Wotton, two years afterwards, gives another, and the baking of him, with wine and "ordinances," costs 3*l.* 11*s.*

These dinners were held according to time-honoured usages, each Alderman, on his appointment, being called upon to give a dinner to the Court, or to pay a fine of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Some years later the Corporation kill game on their own account, being invited by the Earl of Winchelsea to hunt the buck in Eastwell Park. This must have been an interesting sight, especially if the Court of Burghmote rode in costume.

* Dyed lamb's wool.

The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London used to take the same sort of pastime formerly in Epping Forest. A.D. 1773, Earl Winchelsea gives a buck to be eaten at the "Rose." A year later, an order of Burghmote is made that no more money be spent in feasting out of the city stock.

In the 7th of Elizabeth, the judges are feasted at an outlay of 20*l.* 19*s.* And in gifts to the same, a few years later, 5*l.* is expended. At a Court of Burghmote, 31st of Elizabeth, it is agreed "that at the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's coming, he shall be provided and *gratified* from the Chamber with some gift, such as Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen shall think meet, to the value of 5*l.* and somewhat upwards, at their discretion." What they gave is not recorded; but the next year a tavern bill is presented from Alderman Nicholls, as the expense of entertaining the Archbishop, so it is most probable they gave him a dinner. Four years later the Archbishop is again expected, and the Chamberlain is ordered to provide a gift of 5*l.*, and, "if thought meet, it is to be a hogshead of Gascoigne wine." A few years afterwards another hogshead is ordered for his Grace—this to be "of the best Claret wine."

Representatives in Parliament. Freemen and Franchises.

CANTERBURY appears to have sent representatives to Parliament from an early period. The number of Knights and Burgesses who composed the Lower House was subject to much variation, especially previous to the revolution of 1688. Writs were originally issued to the Sheriff of a county, directing him to send to Parliament Burgesses for the boroughs within his shire; and he frequently issued the precepts according to his own views or discretion.

A.D. 1306, the Abbot of Saint Augustine, and the Priors of Christ Church and of Saint Gregory, in Canterbury, were summoned to Parliament by the Sheriff of Kent.* The representatives were paid either by stated salaries, or for their board and lodgings, and for the charges incurred by them in proceeding to the place where the Parliament was held. These expenses were for some centuries considered as a burthen, and certain towns petitioned, and obtained permission, to be relieved from making a return. This was one cause of the anomalous state of the representation previous to the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. Thus, whilst Winchelsea, Queenborough, Gatton, Old Sarum, Aldborough, and other decayed or almost extinct communities, sent members to Parliament, many large and important towns had no voices in the House of Representatives. Most of these places had grown up to importance during the progress of years, or had become populous emporiums of trade and commerce by the stimulus derived from those inventions of science and those improvements in manufactures and art, which were peculiarly appropriate to their locality, and the

* It was not until 1332 that knights, citizens, and burgesses were permitted to form a separate house; they had hitherto sat with the peers and great ecclesiastics.

natural and mineral products in which they abounded. In some boroughs the exercise of the elective franchise had fallen into abeyance upon the petitions of the constituencies themselves, who were desirous of being relieved of the burthen of sending representatives to Parliament. In some instances the right was restored after a lapse of many years, as in the case of Agmondesham, which was reinstated in Parliamentary privileges in the reign of James I., after a disfranchisement of more than two hundred years. Three years before, Wendover had been restored; its representative on that occasion being John Hampden. In the reign of Charles II. several places were reinstated in their political privileges; yet even then fifty-one boroughs, which were formerly represented in Parliament, remained disfranchised. From the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I., the Lower House received an addition of one hundred and fifty-six members.

The exact period at which Canterbury commenced to be represented in Parliament, we have not been able to ascertain. A writ summoning Burgesses for the city is extant in the eleventh of Edward I., A.D. 1283. Johannes de Pykeryng and Edwardus Lespicer (Edmund the Grocer) were Burgesses of Canterbury, A.D. 1311. It is not unlikely but that the Bailiffs of Canterbury occasionally represented the citizens. Like many other places, Canterbury then paid the expenses of its members. Thus, A.D. 1314, Simon de Bertelot (Bailiff, A.D. 1310), and Bartholomeus de Hertford, received each, for their attendance in Parliament, 4*l.* 16*s.*, being at the rate of 2*s.* a day. A.D. 1319, these wages were reduced to 20*d.* a day, that being the amount received by Willielmus de Cotê and Lapineus attê Chaunge. A.D. 1145, the wages were reduced to 12*d.* a day. In 1447, increased to 16*d.*; the same in 1513. In 1503, they were 2*s.** In 1513, reduced to 16*d.* a day.

We have a record of a Parliamentary election at Can-

* In the early ages, ladies of the Ecclesiastical order appear not only to have sat in the Church Synods, but in Parliament. In the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., the four Abbesses of Shaftesbury, Berking, St. Mary of Winchester, and Wilton, were summoned to Parliament; most probably they appeared by proxies, as did several peeresses in the Parliament of the 35th of Edward III. Bede relates that the Abbess Hilda presided in an Ecclesiastical Synod.—Book 3, chap. 25.

terbury at a later period, which prominently sets forth the small respect a Prime Minister, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, entertained for constitutional privileges. Thomas Cromwell, wishing to maintain his own ascendancy and to defeat the Anglo-Catholic party, made strenuous efforts to return a Parliament subservient to his interests. At Portsmouth, Southampton, Oxford, and other places, he openly dictated to the electors the choice of their representatives; but at Canterbury, the election having taken place before he sent down his nominees, he exercised a stretch of power until then unheard of. The election of the citizens was set aside by the Crown, and the Mayor of Canterbury (by letter) addressed the Prime Minister to this effect:—

"In humble wise we certify you, that on the 20th day of the present month, at six o'clock in the morning, I, John Alcock, Mayor of Canterbury, received your letter directed to me, the said Mayor, Sheriff, and Commonalty of the said city, signifying to us thereby, the King's pleasure and commandment, that Robert Sacknell and John Bridges should be Burgesses of the Parliament of the same city of Canterbury. By virtue thereof, according to our bounden duty, immediately upon the sight of your said letter and contents thereof perceived, we caused the Commonalty of the said city to assemble in the Court Hall, where appeared the number of fourscore and seventeen persons, citizens and inhabitants of the said city; and according to the King's pleasure and commandment freely and with one voice, and without contradiction, have elected Robert Sacknell and John Bridges to be Burgesses of the Parliament of the same city, which shall be duly certified by indenture under the seal of the said citizens and inhabitants, by the grace of the blessed Trinity."

This despotic interference with the free election of Burgesses at Canterbury shows to what extent a Minister of the Crown could strain the prerogative under the Tudor dynasty.

In Canterbury the elective franchise was considered to have been always vested in the freemen. The freemen obtained their privileges either by birth as sons of freemen born in the city, by apprenticeship, by purchase, or by marriage with a freeman's daughter. No person, except one *tolerated* under peculiar circumstances, such as were the Walloons and French Pretestants, could exercise any art or trade in Canterbury unless he became *free* under one of the above conditions. The amount required to obtain a freedom by purchase gradually

rose from 5*s.* to 23*l.* 14*s.*, stamp and fees included—the sum paid immediately previous to the passing of the Reform Bill. These charges were a source of income to the Corporation, and of emolument to the Chamberlain and to the Town Clerk. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the Mayor had the privilege of making a freeman "when he will," a power afterwards restricted to the single exercise of the right.

In the records occur some curious exemptions from money payments: A.D. 1575, one Thomas Barnes, surgeon, is allowed to become "a freeman without purchase, provided he cure poor people of their diseases to the amount of 5*l.*"

The payment of money to their Burgesses in Parliament was generally considered by the citizens of Canterbury as a vexatious charge. At the commencement of Queen Mary's reign it is ordered, "That 12*l.*, before this time delivered to the Burgesses of this city, shall by writ be levied of the Commonalty, and no more money paid out of the City Chamber for such a purpose." An order made 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary enacts, "That henceforth no money shall be paid out of the Chamber for the wages of any Parliament," and strong penalties are prescribed against all who should attempt to contravene this decree.

In the 23rd of Elizabeth it is enjoined, "That whereas, certain Burgesses of Parliament have been hitherto chosen from certain gentlemen not resident within the city, it is resolved, 'That no Burgess shall be nominated in future but such as are dwellers in the city;"—an order somewhat difficult to be enforced, for the resolution goes on to affirm, "That the election does not rest with the Mayor and Aldermen, but in the most voices of the Commons." The order of the 1st of Philip and Mary seems likewise to have been of no avail, for in the 28th Elizabeth, we find it recorded that the City pays Mr. Simon Brome, one of their Burgesses, "ten pounds, in respect of his charges last past," but with a reservation "That no cess be made upon the inhabitants, until hereafter the charge for Burgesses for the whole time of this Parliament be known."

One hundred years later an account of an election

feasting occurs, and a collation is bestowed upon the Burgesses of the city on the morrow after their election. The wages had now ceased to be paid, but the citizens feasted their representatives. This, however, occurred A.D. 1660, when all England was given up to revelry at the restoration of the regal power in this realm. May, 1661, a collation is provided which costs 10*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*, the secretary of the Archbishop having been elected to represent the city. The difficulty respecting the condition that the member of Parliament should be one of the citizens of this city, appears to have been evaded by making the candidate purchase his freedom before presenting himself upon the hustings.

A.D. 1563, a most unconstitutional proceeding occurred, for on a certain jury having acquitted John Hart and others of several felonies, the Privy Council, or the Corporation, order the jurymen to be disfranchised, their shop windows shut up, and their persons imprisoned, for an acquittal contrary to evidence.

As late as A.D. 1609, the indictments and presentments were written in Latin, and it was the duty of the Chamberlain's clerk to expound the true sense of all such indictments, and translate them into English at inquests, &c.

A.D. 1643, the election of George Knott to the Mayoralty was declared void by a Committee of the House of Commons, and a new election ordered, under what circumstance we know not.

1656, John Alcock, late of St. Paul's, Canterbury, a labourer, having been indicted and found guilty of the murder of Thomas Stanton, of Canterbury, pleads he is a Clerk, and prays the benefit of clergy. A question then arises whether he can read as a Clerk; and a book being placed in his hand, it is decided in the affirmative. Thereupon the said John Alcock is ordered to be burnt in the left hand.

Local Government, and General History of the City.

The spear was the characteristic weapon of the Anglo-Saxon, and the pike became the arm of the English people at a later period. At Canterbury, 15th February, A.D. 1564, the Aldermen and Councillors and certain inhabitants are enjoined to keep in their homes "one armed pike." A few years later, an armourer, as a salaried officer, is specially appointed; and it is about this period that we find frequent assessments are made on the city to provide soldiers, ships, and powder. Sixty years later, the entries in the Burghmote Records evidence the increased demands made by the Government upon the citizens for warlike purposes, or for the defence of the city itself.

A.D. 1634, King Charles I. makes a demand for a "ship of war to be set forth at the expense of the citizens." The Chamberlain is directed to proceed to London to remonstrate against a charge so unpopular, but without much effect. Earnest letters follow, appealing to the High Sheriff and to the Mayor of Dover. The Sheriff of Canterbury is directed to attend, and a sort of compromise is effected by a payment of 5*l.*, one half of which is devoted to their "Graces' Secretary" as a gratuity. But a small portion of taxes thus levied without the sanction of Parliament seem to have reached the Exchequer, and this doubtless aggravated the unpopularity of these and similar exactions.

A.D. 1638, a cess is levied on the city to purchase powder "for its defence in these perilous times." The year following the citizens are taxed towards raising an army for His Majesty against the Scots; eighty soldiers were required. In mitigation of this demand, the Corporation appeal to the Lord Lieutenant, asserting that as the whole county was assessed for one thousand men, thirty-six men only was the proper contribution for

Canterbury. However correct may have been this computation, the citizens subsequently are compelled not only to furnish the eighty men, but the next year to raise fifty-five more, and to find sundry horses and carters.

In 1642 the old culverins and musquets in the Town Hall are ordered to be stocked and proved. They were then delivered out to thirty-six persons.

Cromwell, three years later, A.D. 1642, acted with still greater rigour, for the citizens are not only assessed for their proportion of one thousand men, but also for their contribution for raising one hundred horse soldiers. They pleaded that they had already sent into the North eighty arms, one hundred and twenty men to Dover Castle, and in money 2,600*l.* to London. As the city only the year previous had been fortified at the common charge, such public burthens must have been severely felt. The city defences were ordered about the same time to be repaired.

At this time Canterbury was in the hands of the Parliamentary party, and was put in full defence; yet by an order made the year following the ordnance on the Dungeon Hill and at the Castle was ordered to be dismounted. A.D. 1645, the importance of preserving Canterbury for the Parliament is manifested by 400*l.* being expended by the Government at Westminster in strengthening the fortifications of this city.

A curious entry occurs a. little later respecting an order made upon the bachelors to furnish arms; and then, as if the fair spinsters resolved not to be behind hand in patriotic exertions, they contributed to the provision of a piece of ordnance, as we find from the notice of a committee appointed to examine into the same. The bachelors then came forward with a further contribution.

The pikes taken out of Lady Wotton's house, September 1641, seized on account of her recusancy, were ordered to be hung up in the Guildhall, where they remain suspended, at least the greater part of them.

We find Cromwell mentioned in the records, November 1652. Thirty shillings paid by the Mayor to his trumpeter is ordered to be refunded; under what circumstances we know not.

The spoliation of the Cathedral—if much remained of value after Henry VIII. had plundered its most costly shrines, the destruction of the ornamental portion of the tombs and richly-painted windows, together with the ripping up of the incised monumental brass plates from the pavements of various portions of the building, as the floor of the Chapter House attests—were generally asserted to have been the work of some unworthy adherents of the Commonwealth party. An entry in the Burghmote Book, A.D. 1645, notes that sundry iron and iron work brought from the Cathedral, is sold for the use of the city.

The history of Richard Culmer, or "Blue Dick," as he was denominated by his adversaries, throws some light upon these proceedings. This noted. iconoclast was born in the Isle of Thanet, educated at the Canterbury Grammar School, and afterwards graduated at Magdalen College, Cambridge. He became minister of Goodneston, in Kent, and was suspended, "ab officio et beneficio," for refusing to read "The Book of Sports" on the Sunday. In 1644, he published "Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury, showing the Canterburian Cathedral to be in an abbey-like corrupt and rotten condition, which calls for a speedy reformation or dissolution." Two replies came out to this.

In 1644, Wharton, a Royalist writer, informs us that Culmer "was thrust into the vicarage of Minster upon the rejection of Dr. Casaubon, when he took down the cross from the spire of the steeple, defaced the windows, and pulled down the hall in the vicarage house—a man odious for his zeal and fury." He lived to the Restoration. Culmer was one of those appointed to detect and to cause to be demolished the so-called superstitious inscriptions and idolatrous monuments in the Cathedral at Canterbury. He appears to have been a man very violent and indiscreet.

Reverting to Culmer we give his own words whilst he describes part of one of his day's handiwork in the Cathedral, August 26th, 1642:—"Many window images, or pictures in glass, were demolished that day, and many idols in stone. A minister (meaning himself) was on the top of the city ladder, near sixty feet high, with a

whole pike in his hands, rattling down proud Becket's glasse bones." Thus was partially destroyed the great North Window. It was a true, yet a grotesque type enough of the times, to see this "minister of the Gospel" on a ladder, pike in hand, demolishing the Cathedral windows! The troopers, after hewing the altar rails to pieces, thumped away upon the organ, or, as Culmer calls it, "the case of whistles, which never were in tune since."

Culmer was accused, January, 1660, of being implicated in the plot for which Venner, Houghkin, the Anabaptists, and the Fifth Monarchy men, suffered. He was apprehended whilst riding down Chatham Hill, whereupon being committed for a time, he was asked, among other examinations, "Why he brake those famous windows in Canterbury Cathedral?" To which he answered, "He did it by order of the Parliament;" and being interrogated further, "Why, in one window representing the Devil tempting Christ, he brake down Christ and left the Devil standing? He said, "he had an order to take down Christ, but not to take down the Devil." Culmer died A.D. 1662, and was buried in Monkton Church.

In 1648, the feeling of loyalty* is predominent among the citizens of Canterbury. A fleet in the interest of Charles II. being in the Channel, a rising in his favour

* In a pamphlet published at London, 1648, by "B.A.," is an account of the articles agreed on, made 9th June 1648, between his Excellency the Lord Fairfax and the Kentish forces in Canterbury, signed by commissioners on both sides:—

Imprimis.—It is concluded and agreed, that the forces under the command of Commissary General Ireton, shall enter into the city and county of Canterbury the next morning, about nine of the clock, being the 10th day of this instant June. 2nd. That all then in the city should forthwith lay down their arms, and that all the arms and ammunition in the said city of Canterbury should be brought into Christ Church, and then delivered to such officers as the Commissary General should appoint. 3rd. That all the weapons and furniture of warre within the said city and subberbs thereof should be brought in and delivered up as aforesaid. 4th. That no soldier shall plunder nor take away the goods of any inhabitant of the said city and county, and that all those who have taken up arms in the said city should go home to their own dwellings, and conform themselves to al ordinances of Parliament, and submit to such fine or fines as the Houses of Parliament shall appoint, except such persons which have formerly served the Parliament, who are to give surety not to take up arms, &c., and in default, to depart the kingdom. 5th. That some means be used that the fines and other pains imposed upon the persons which made the insurrection be with moderation and reasonable terms given, and that the Lord General

takes place. Arms and ammunition are brought into the city, the authority of the Mayor and Corporation is denied and opposed, the gaols are thrown open, and the war cry of the Stuart is once more ringing in the streets and public places. The triumph of the royal partizans, however, was of short duration, the commmandant of the Parliamentary forces, although the gates were thrown open to him, scornfully enters the city by a breach contemptuously made in the walls, and order is again restored.

At length the Restoration takes place. Royalist soldiers are quartered in the city, and the inhabitants have to support them. A few years, later the influence and example of the government in its stride towards despotic power, and its suppression of religious liberty, appear manifest in the proceedings of the city and Corporation itself. A Mayor is appointed by the Court to overawe the citizens in direct contravention of their charters. Indeed, the King had scarcely been seated on his throne before a royal letter is received, calling upon the Corporation to dismiss the crier and bellman, these humble officials being declared to be disaffected to his Majesty. This was a great matter, indeed, for a royal letter; but the prerogative in those days comprehended the minutest and the greatest things, and possessed a restless spirit of activity, which harassed by petty

be desired to present this case and conditions to Parliament. 6th. That all persons whatsoever shall engage never to bear armes against the Parliament or their forces.

Signed, Commissary G. IRETON.
Signed, on the Lieutenant-General's party, by
JAMES WHALEY, Judge Advocate.
Signed, on the Kentish party, by
R. WILKINSON and JAMES KENT.

In the Church of Canterbury (Cathedral) were delivered 3000 arms and 300 horse. Here also were placed a good store of arms taken at Dover.

The pamphlet then goes on to state: "A mortar piece is going to send grenadoes into the revolted Castles at Sandon, Warborough, and Deal, and hereafter Captain Kent may know the difference of being in a castle or sailing in a ship. The Lieutenant-General's engineer hath made some breaches in the walls of Canterbury, to prevent the adverse party taking advantage by the strength thereof, as they have formerly done, to raise *combustions* in the city."

Some prisoners (32) are sent to Leeds Castle, and some put on shipboard for security; "the Lord General (Cromwell) leaving it to the Deputy Lieutenants of the county to dispose of such of the common soldiers as they shall see cause."

vexations, as well as by open violence. A certain Christopher Peck is appointed instead of the disaffected bellman, and ordered to have a coat of green cloth at the city's charge.

Henry VIII. had resorted to violent measures to enforce obedience to his spiritual supremacy; and the field opposite the Dane John mound attested, in the reign of Queen Mary, the devotion and moral courage of martyrs who perished in the flames. Elizabeth pressed conformity in matters of religious belief and practice nearly as far as Mary had done. In the 5th year of her reign, the Corporation had decreed, "That all householders should attend morning and evening prayers at the church of Saint Mary Bredman, or forfeit 2*d.* for every house." Two years later, this ordinance is modified by a resolution to the effect "That one person attend for each house, except those who live by labour, or forfeit 2*d.* to the poor-box for each default."

In the early period of the Revolution, a certain freedom of conscience was permitted. A.D. 1639, the Corporation resolve, "That the 5th of November be kept as solemnly as hithertofore, excepting that every man may go to what church he please." The Puritanical spirit of the times had already suppressed the "Waits and Minstrels;" and, as our preceding pages have shown, the attempt to secularize Christmas Day produced an insurrection.

Twenty years later very different measures are taken. A.D. 1662, the Corporation are ordered "to go to the Cathedral every Sabbath Day;" and a certain Mr. Holman is appointed to take notice of defaults, with a view, doubtless, of fining the absentees. Two years previous some of the Aldermen and Common Councilmen had been fined for going to the Cathedral without their gowns.

A.D. 1681, it is ordered that citizens elected Aldermen be fined 30*l.*, and those elected Common Councilmen 20*l.*, unless they partake of the sacrament according to the form prescribed by law. The year previous, certain members of the Burghmote had been removed because they had not taken the sacrament, "according to the Corporation Act."

In 1684, "Dissenters" are alluded to by name; and Churchwardens are enjoined to send in a list of all such persons residing in each parish. A.D. 1698, Rest Fenner and other Dissenters are fined for refusing to take upon themselves corporate offices, subject to the tests and subscriptions required by law. Even as late as 1751, the city treasury at Canterbury was replenished by fines levied upon Dissenters.

It is but fair, however, to record the extravagancy of the Puritans. We have an instance in the iconoclastic ardour of Culmer; and doubtless owe to a similar zeal the despoiling of monumental remains, and the destruction of many a beautiful work of ancient art. Nor ought we, in allusion to these times, and the antagonistic spirit which the success of alternate principle or party produced, to omit a notice of the celebrated antiquary, William Somner, whose work on this city remains a lasting record of his industry and learning. In the year 1640, Somner, who held the office of Deputy-Registrar to the Archbishop, presents to the city his book on "The Antiquities of Canterbury." The times, however, were full of change and tribulation; an ancient monarchy was breaking up in the tempest of revolution, and the shibboleth of strange cries and watchwords filled the air. Somner, who had been elected to a corporate office, and who was well known for his attachment to monarchical principles, having refused to be sworn in, was in the year 1659 mulcted in fines, which speedily accumulated to 20*l.*

At the Restoration, and under the reaction which then ensued, all the Aldermen, Common Councilmen, and officers, even down to the Sword Bearer and Crier, supposed to be favourable to the Commonwealth party, were displaced, and Somner's fines remitted; not, however, under the plea of their injustice, but because "the said William Somner had been instrumental in persuading the Archbishop, his grandfather, to bestow Ward gates for this city at his own expense."

Somner's work on Canterbury is a standard one of its class, and all succeeding writers of the history of the city or its establishments, have been more or less indebted to the materials he amassed and arranged.

The Cathedral Library exhibits his exertions as an antiquary. To this establishment he presented his "Dictionarium Saxonicum." Here likewise was preserved the manuscript of his treatise on the Roman forts. Indeed, according to Mr. Botfield, in his "Notes to Cathedral Libraries," many of the books in this collection contain his marginal annotations, and attest the extent of his reading. Here also were preserved his "Miscellanies," consisting chiefly of letters relating to the affairs of the Cathedral, and containing curious remarks on the characters of many incumbents in the diocese; Somner also annotated "Orosius Saxonicus," and the celebrated "Paraphrase" of the Monk Cædmon. Somner lies interred in Saint Margaret's Church, a marble tablet erected by Barbara, his second wife, daughter of John Davison, at her sole cost, A.D. 1695, records that Somner was born 30th March, 1606, and died 30th March, 1669.

Reverting to the political history of Canterbury, we find that in 1683, a "Quo Warranto" was served upon the Mayor and Commonalty, calling upon them to show by what right they held their liberties and franchises. A.D. 1683–4, Charles II. demands of the citizens their charters, in order to deprive them of their municipal privileges. The citizens, powerless against the Court, are compelled, April 1st, 1684, to make an unconditional surrender of their rights and privileges, many of which they had held for centuries, and which had been bestowed and guaranteed by numerous charters, and received the sanction of all previous sovereigns. In vain did the Mayor, Recorder, and citizens remonstrate. "In token of their loyalty," so ran the phrase, they were compelled "to surrender to the King, his heirs, and successors, all the manors, messuages, and lands, whereof they had been seised in right of their Corporation, and all the charters and franchises of the city, and on their knees to beseech him to accept the same." The Recorder was ordered to draw an absolute and unconditional surrender. The citizens had asked the King to re-grant the same, fondly hoping that the Royal commands were merely an excuse for the payment of a benevolence, or a plea for exacting a heavy fine. They were mistaken. The Monarch had

deeper designs than merely to replenish an exhausted exchequer; he aimed at governing the realm by the strength of his prerogative alone. Charles did indeed accord to Canterbury, that same year, a charter in which the names of a Mayor, Recorder, Councillors, and officers were all engrossed, the same being appointed at the sole nomination of the Crown. In this charter was inserted a clause reserving to the King in Council power to displace, at any future time, any member of the Corporation he might deem fit. No official business was said to have been transacted between May and October 1684, King Charles holding the charters.

For this iniquitous charter, or the renewal of the old one as the citizens expected, various sums of money, amounting to 50*l.* and upwards, were expended by Sir Paul Barrett, the Recorder, in May, 1684. Again, in the October of the same year, when Colonel Rook and Captain Roberts brought down the new charter, their expenses, with a present to the two Secretaries of State, of two roundletts of North Down ale, and fees to the Signet, Privy Seal, Hanaper, and other offices, amounted to nearly 200*l.* Of this money, the citizens borrowed 100*l.* of Sir Anthony Aucher. On the receipt of this charter the city bells were ordered to be rung and the citizens entertained at the public-houses, at a still further outlay of money—as if the authorities were proud of testifying to the loss of their ancient privileges, and the return of their fellow citizens to something like political serfdom.

The above charter remained in force from the 16th of November, 1684, to 25th October, 1688; and notwithstanding some opinions * alleged to the contrary, it appears to have been "accepted by the citizens, and acted upon both by them and the King and his successor." †

James II., by orders in Council, dated 17th December, 1687, and 18th February, 1688, displaces and removes the greater portion of the Corporation, many members of which were his brother's nominees. He fills up the vacant places with men subservient, as he believes, to his

* Robinson and Ald. Bunce. † "An Inquiry," &c. C. Sandys, 1828.

own designs against the Protestant religion, ordering the citizens, instead of their then Mayor, Henry Lee, "to elect his trusty and well beloved John Kingsford." The newly-appointed Mayor and other officers of the Court are directed by the King "to be admitted without administering to them any oath or oaths, but the usual oaths provided for the due execution of their respective places."

In May, 1668, this royal cipher of a Mayor has to surrender up the keys of the city and the custody of its gates to a commandant of a troop of horse!* At the expiration of his term of office, the citizens are directed to re-elect him. Being requested by the Sheriff to proceed to the choice of a Chief Magistrate, and to divide in the Guildhall "those who were for Mr. Kingsford on the one side, and those who were against him on the other, the citizens, out of loyalty, elect and continue Mr. Kingsford in office."

James, however, became at last sensible of the daily increasing disaffection of his people, and the warning signs of approaching revolution.

A few weeks only after the re-election of his nominal Mayor, namely 25th November, 1688, he by proclamation suddenly restores to Corporations their ancient privileges; Canterbury regains her charters; the displaced members of her Corporation assume their former offices; and John Kingsford is ignominiously removed. Too late, however, came the royal concessions; the following December the monarch had quitted England as a fugitive, never to return to it again.

The two charters of Charles II. and James II., in various fees to the Hanaper, Signet, and other offices, gratuities and charges to the King's secretaries, cost the city some hundreds of pounds. Nevertheless, when James, moved by sudden fear at the general disturbance of his kingdom by the intended invasion, issued his

"Whitehall, April 18, 1668.

* "The King having thought fitt to send some troops of Dragoones to the city of Canterbury, to remain there for his service until furthur order, His Majesty commands mee to signify to you his pleasure, That you deliver the keys of the citty gates to the officer in chiefe commanding those troopes, to be kept by him as usuall during their stay at Canterbury.

"SUNDERLAND."

"The Mayor of Canterbury.

proclamation, restoring to municipalities their ancient charters and privileges, the sum total paid by Canterbury to Matthias Grey, for moneys by him disbursed to the messenger which brought the proclamation which restored the old charter to this city, was five shillings!

The rental of the Bailiffs of the city in, A.D. 1393, was derived from properties and receipts as under:—The mill at Eastbridge, one tower at the Waterlock, Ware Lane, in St. Mildred, a tower at Newingate, the King's Mead (a meadow near Barton Mills), the Aldermanry of Westgate, let at $^{d}/20$ per annum; John Lord's house in St. George's Street, a piece of land by the Castle, the house of the brothers of the Sac, in Saint Peter's, and the Gravel-pit Field of 4 acres in Wincheap (query Martyr's Field), the yearly rents of all which, exclusive of the mill, were 4*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*

In A.D. 1641, we have indications of the disturbed state of public affairs. Musquets and culverins are ordered to be delivered to certain persons to be put into order, and sundry ammunition is purchased, namely "ten barrels of gunpowder, one roundel of pistol bullets, one firkin of musquet bullets, one blundering musquet, and 11½ cwt. of iron bullets." In 1643, the ordnance on the Dane John is ordered to be watched by the housekeepers, and the fort made defensible. Where this fort was situated, or whether it was the Castle, we are not informed.

The political history of Canterbury from the time of its destruction by the Danes, and the massacre of the pious Elphege, down to the days of popular delusion, when John Nicholas Thom, alias "Lord Courtenay," in 1833, impressed the masses with an influence, temporary indeed, but as absolute as any ever exercised by a Longbeard or a Simnel, would occupy many pages. Suffice it to allude to the troubled times of the Commonwealth. The Burghmote Rolls of this period are well preserved.

On Christmas Day, A.D. 1647, there was a great tumult raised in the city owing to the proceedings of the Mayor and other leading men, who endeavoured to prevent the citizens from keeping the solemnity and festival of the season. In defiance of the orders of the Corporation, many persons proceeded as usual to the

churches, and were subjected to insults and annoyance. From a curious tract preserved in the British Museum Library, and printed for Humphrey Howard, London, 1648, we learn, "That upon Wednesday, December 22nd, the Cryer of Canterbury, by the appointment of Master Mayor, openly proclaimed that Christmas Day and all other superstitious festivals should be put down; and that a market should be kept on Christmas Day." Upon the day in question the multitude became mutinous. Master Mayor's proclamation was so far disregarded that only twelve citizens opened their shops, and upon these persons refusing to close the same their houses were forcibly entered, and their wares thrown down and destroyed. Soldiers, and even officers of the Corporation, such as Bailiffs and others, fraternised with the rioters. "The Mayor and Sheriff were ill-used, and the former having taken upon himself to cudgel a citizen, was knocked down, whereby his cloak was much torn and dirty, besides the hurt he received." The citizens appear to have set the authorities at defiance. The next day being Sunday, their conduct was peaceable; but on Monday morning, according to the tract in question, "the multitude coming, the Mayor set a strong watch, with muskets and halberts, in the city, both at the gates and at St. Andrew's church: the captain of the guard was White, the barber. Till noon they were quiet: then came one Joyce, a hackney man, whom White bid stand. The fellow asked him what the matter was, and, withal, called him 'roundhead,' whereat White, being moved, cocked his pistol, and would have shot him, but the Mayor wished him to hold. Nevertheless, he shot, and the fellow fell down, but was not dead: whence arose a sudden clamour that the man was murdered, whereupon the people came forth with clubs. The Mayor and Aldermen made haste away; the town rose again, and the country came in and took possession of the gates, and made inquiry for White. They found him in a hay loft, where they broke his head, and dragged him through the streets, setting open the prison doors, and releasing those that were in hold. Next, they vowed revenge on the Mayor, pulling up his posts, breaking his windows; but at last, being persuaded by Sir William Man (Master

Love*lise*, Master Harris, and Master Purser, had much ado to persuade them from taking of his person), so came tumultuously into the High Street; and their demands were so high that those gentlemen could not persuade them. Afterward, meeting Master Burley, the Town Clerk, they demanded the keys of the prison from him, which being granted, they, with those gentlemen formerly named, went again to the hall to treat, and came to an agreement, which was, that forty or fifty of their own men should keep the town that night, being completely armed; which being performed, the morning issued, and they continued in arms till Tuesday morning. There are none as yet dead, but divers dangerously hurt. Master Sheriff, taking White's part, and striving to keep the peace, was knocked down, and his head fearfully broke; it was God's mercy his brains were not beat out, but it would seem he had a *clung* pate of (his) own. They went also without St. George's gate, and did much injury to M. Lee. As I am credibly informed, the injuries that are done are these: they have beat down all the windows of Master Mayor's, burnt the stoups at the coming in of his door; Master Reeve's windows were broke; Master Page and Master Pollen, one Buckhurst, Captain Bridge, Thomas Harris, a busy, prating fellow, and others, were sorely wounded. It is ordered that Richard White and Robert Hues, being in fetters, be tried according to law; and upon fair composition, the multitude have delivered their arms into the hands of the city, upon engagements of the best of the city, that no man shall further question or trouble them."

A few days afterwards, although order had been restored, the Parliamentary forces enter Canterbury in considerable numbers, and treat it as a conquered city, and, although no resistance was offered, the gates were taken down and burnt, portions of the wall were cast down, and some of the principal citizens of the Court party were imprisoned. According to Whitelock, the severest measures (even the capital punishment of some of the mutineers) were apprehended; but the Commissioners of the Parliament met with an unexpected obstacle in the resistance of the grand jury, which ignored the bills of indictment. Twenty years afterwards, the grand

juries again exhibited a spirit of independence against the very measures of that dynasty whose friends and adherents they now so determinedly and successfully protected. This year, A.D. 1648, Kent took an active part in the great national struggle; Prince Charles having roused his partizans into full activity. The battles of Maidstone and Rochester were fought. The latter city surrendered to Fairfax, and Dover Castle was relieved from an attack made upon it by the Royalists.

Canterbury, which, like other localities, has had its mutations of political opinions, manifested at this period strong Royalist predilections. It was too near the metropolis, however, to make any successful stand for the cause of the Monarchy, although the tumult described above appeared no affair of ordinary dissatisfaction, the insurgents having the boldness to raise, at one time, the cry of "for God, King Charles, and Kent."

Arts and Manufactures.

However we may deplore the religious persecutions which on the Continent expatriated whole families, and caused sudden and cruel disruptions of the social ties, the advent of the Walloons and other strangers to this country was of great advantage to our manufactures specially, and to the country generally. New arts, domestic and commercial, were introduced, and existing ones greatly improved.

The silk brocade, the velvet manufactures, and the fine cambrics, were brought into England by refugees from Lyons, Tours, and Cambray. Beaver or felt hats came first from Flanders, pendulum clocks from Holland, and a superior species of sail-cloth from France. Great improvements in dyeing were introduced from Holland and Portugal. Calico printing was brought hither, A.D. 1690, by a Frenchman, probably a refugee. The fabrication of plate glass was introduced by Abraham Thevenot, A.D. 1688.

The Dutch and Walloons exhibited great ability in drainage and waterworks, and were employed to carry out an improved method adopted by them in various parts of this country. Paper-making was also introduced by a foreigner, who built a paper mill at Dartford. Sealing wax was introduced from the Continent; the oldest known seal of the description of wax now used was impressed on a letter written from London to the Rheingrave Philip Francis Von Daun by his agent, Gerard Herman, A.D. 1554.

In the fine arts, the foreigners early excelled. Holbein, Rubens, and Vandyke, were the leading names among a whole host of painters, who improved the native taste and elevated the mind of the student to a noble ambition to excel; while our country gardens looked all the brighter and fairer for the provence rose and the carnation, which are all said to have owed their introduction to foreign emigrants or exiles.

Taking a retrospective view of the arts and manufactures introduced into Canterbury and its neighbourhood, we find psalmody and sacred music existing at a very early period. Augustine and his "chanting monks" afford us one example; but from our knowledge of the love of song early displayed among the northern nations, we cannot doubt, that if not addressed to their deities by the Druids in their awful ceremonies round their stone altars, or within their mysterious circles, song and musical incantations were offered to the great divinities of the Scandinavians, Thor, Odin, and Freyr.

Of the fine arts otherwise we cannot expect to find many examples.

In the ninth century, among the gifts of a King of Mercia, an account is given of a golden curtain, on which was wrought the taking of Troy, and a gilded cup, chased on the outside with savage wine-dressers fighting with serpents. This production, however, bears evident marks of being of Eastern or Byzantine workmanship.

We are informed too, that the good King Alfred presented to his grandson Athelstan, when a child, a sword in a golden scabbard.

Delineations of manuscripts, and the illuminations of missals, horariums, and other written documents, were wrought with much beauty and skill long previous to the Conquest. The only example which we have in our city archives worth alluding to is the charter of King James I.

To the Norman and early English periods of our history we owe many beautiful and elaborate specimens of carving in wood and ivory. At a somewhat more recent period carvings in wood were executed with great success in the stalls, pulpits, screens, and sedilia of ecclesiastical buildings. We have some valuable examples in the Cathedral. Also, in Westgate Church are specimens more curious perhaps for age and quaintness, than for any excellence of art.

Embroidery and the embellishment of tapestry, were arts extensively cultivated in the middle ages.

The Danish Standard of the Raven, taken from the enemy by the Saxons, A.D. 878, was probably the production of the needle, and it is generally supposed at

a later period that the Bayeux Tapestry, descriptive of the battle of Hastings, or rather exhibiting the adventures and deeds of Harold in connection with England and its Conquest, was the work of Queen Matilda and her maidens.

Glass was manufactured in England at an early date. Glass ornaments and utensils have been found in the Roman cemeteries, in Canterbury and its neighbourhood. The earliest application of this substance as a material for the transmission of light occurs A.D. 669, in the time of Wilfrid of York, who first adorned the Cathedral of that city with windows.

The staining of glass, arranged with artistic designs, was one of the most esteemed pursuits of the middle ages. Our Cathedral affords many examples of the rich dyes and artistic dispositions of the ancient stained glass.

Of the dress ornaments of the early inhabitants of Canterbury and its neighbourhood, of the Anglo-Saxon, if not of the Roman, many examples exist both in public and private collections. From the cemeteries at Barham, Breach Downs, Kingston, and Chartham Downs, and the neighbourhoods of Ash, Richborough, Reculver, Sarre, and Hoath, many rare specimens for personal adornment have been exhumed.

Nor was the skill of the Anglo-Saxon artist of a low and inferior grade. The extraordinary relic in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, attests this. This beautiful specimen, commonly called "Alfred's Jewell," from its supposed connection with our noble Anglo-Saxon Monarch, was discovered in the Isle of Atherly, the locality where for a time Alfred took refuge from the Danes. It is an enamelled jewel, and on one side is inscribed in Anglo-Saxon characters, "Alfred me het gewyrcan"—"Alfred ordered me to be made." It formed from its appearances the top of a staff or sceptre, although until lately it was generally supposed to have been adapted for suspension from the neck.

A beautiful specimen of a fibula or brooch was found by the late Bryan Faussett, on Kingston Downs. It is entirely of gold, elegantly and richly set with garnets and pale blue stones. Its diameter is 3½ inches, thick-

ness about ¼ inch; its weight is 6oz. 5dwts. The acus, or pin underneath, is quite perfect. With it was discovered a gold amulet and two silver fibulæ; also, a vessel of green glass and other relics.

Numerous brooches have been found in the Saxon graves in this neighbourhood, as they have been all over England; but the Jutish tribes who settled in this part of the country generally possessed the richest and most elaborately wrought personal ornaments. Many of these fibulæ consist of plates of silver or of bronze, with leaves and other designs of hatched gold or diamond patterns within. They are set with garnets, blue stones, and mother of pearl, and in some rarer instances with turquoises and small rubies.

In one of the tumuli at Sibertswold (No. 172, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*) were found some rare dress ornaments of large oval stones of a fine deep red colour, on one of which, set in gold, was engraved a *Griffin passant*,—a circumstance unique in itself, and, if the relic be Saxon, exhibiting a knowledge of art not hitherto credited. There were two other brooches, being amethysts set in gold.

A very fine fibula was some years since found at Sittingbourne, and was in the possession of Mr. Vallance. It has a gold rim, the interior ornament being a double star set with garnets, or coloured glass, upon chequered foils of gold. The rays of the inner star are of lapis lazuli. Between the rays of the larger star are four studs (ivory) with a ruby in each; the spaces being filled up with gold filagree work.*

Mr. Akerman, in his "Pagan Saxondom," among the fibulæ found in Kent, describes one discovered at Wingham, by Lord Londesborough, A.D. 1843. It is composed of a disc of bronze, upon which is laid a disc of gold, ornamented by a number of minute corded scrolls. In the centre is a star-shaped ornament of four points, described upon a circle, the compartments of both figures being set with garnet-coloured glass, and a blue paste which has suffered decomposition. Between the rays of the stars are four raised knobs or ornaments, containing garnets or coloured glass.

* Archæological Album.

Gold pendant ornaments, or bullæ, have frequently been found in Kent. Some of these relics bear the figure of a cross within five concentric circles—relics, perhaps, of Anglo-Saxon Christians. Fibulæ have been also found cross-formed and curved, like a rude resemblance of an ancient harp.

The King Field at Faversham, as attested by the Anglo-Saxon and Roman objects,* chiefly the former, found in graves in that locality, and for the most part acquired by the industry of the late Mr. Gibbs, prove by the skill displayed in the manufacture of the articles themselves, the importance and the wealth of the ancient population of this place. There is not another cemetery in England that can compete with the King Field in either the number or the value of its relics.

One of the most elaborate specimens of Anglo-Saxon, or rather we should say of Roman art—for although discovered in the Saxon Cemetery at Gilton, it seems indicative of the more advanced Roman civilization—is the unique and highly chased acus or pin, preserved in the Canterbury museum. The shaft and head of the pin, which is about 5½ inches long, is beautifully and artistically ornamented. The head, which is nearly half an inch in diameter, is shaped like two obtuse angles united at their bases, terminating in a small knob. The substance of the pin is silver or bronze, gilded. (See Plate 2, Fig. 4.)

Crystal balls set in laps of silver, pendent to silver rings, as in the example found on Chatham lines; spoons, with bowls of perforated silver, sometimes set with garnets—forks in handles of deer's horn—chatelains, once suspended from ladies' girdles, containing a variety of knick-knacks and fancy designs in metal, as useful, if not quite so ornamental, as those worn by our fair countrywomen in the present day—elaborately carved sword pommels, as in the one found at Gilton,—scissors, tweezers, rings of silver, ear pendants, amulets, —all evidence the skill and comparative civilization of the Anglo-Saxon or Jutish settlers of Kent, and at one time, the possessors of Canterbury.

There is in the Canterbury Museum a curious drinking

* Now in the South Kensington Museum.

cup of twisted or pillared glass; it is of an hazel colour, and is 7½ inches in height. This curious relic has several large tear drop looking projections on its outer surface, attesting the skill of the ancient artificer in glass. Some of the cups found in Saxon tumuli were of an olive green colour, or of a pale amber, the material being often of a fine quality. It was found near Broomfield on the borders of the parish of Reculver, now many years since.

Now the spindles of the Walloons are silent, Canterbury may be said, with the exception of a few weaving establishments and soap factories, to have no manufactories. In 1776, however, Mr. John Callaway, combining Sir Richard Arkwright's level cotton twist with his looms of silk warp, introduced the making of a fabric which bore the name of "Canterbury Muslins." At one time fifty women and children were employed at a mill he constructed on the Stour, below "Deane's Mill," in the parish of Hackington, and which gave the name to the meadow, the Cotton Mill Field, whereon it was constructed. Both mill and manufactory are now no more.

Ethelbert and Augustine.

GRAPHICALLY has the old chronicler described the Saxon King Ethelbert going out of his palace at Canterbury, a building perhaps consisting mostly of wood, with gilded pinnacles, travelling to Thanet to meet Augustine approaching with his huge cross of silver borne on high, and his picture of Christ, chanting with his monks as he drew near to the King, who seated with his followers on the ground, awaited to hear what tidings were brought by the apostle from Rome. "Your words are fair, and your promises, but because they are new and doubtful," exclaimed the King, "we may not leave the customs of the Anglo-Saxon race." Ethelbert, however, shortly afterwards promises that Augustine shall not be molested, but have full permission to gain over all he could to the new religion. From his Christian queen, the King must have learned previously of the new religion, and perhaps felt inclined to give ear to its precepts.

The conversion of the Saxons, however, was no easy task. The example of their King undoubtedly had great influence, but the rude warrior swore to Odin, Thor, and Brynhilda; had many old impressions and passions to eradicate, especially the wild vengeance which he had been taught to consider as a virtue, and his love of strife, and war and piracy. There might be something too derived from his education congenial to his nature in the future beyond this life, as pictured by his priests, and sung by his scalds.

When Augustine arrived at Canterbury, Ethelbert assigned to the missionaries a lodging at Stablegate, where they remained until the King had well deliberated on the matter. It was not long before he accepted the new religion, and his baptism took place on the feast of Whit Sunday, June 2, A.D. 597. At what spot we are not told; if not performed at St. Martin's, perhaps in some brook or stream of the Stour, for we are informed before a year had passed, 10,000 of the Saxons were baptized in the Swale at the mouth of the Medway.

Corporate Officers, Prisons, Watch, &c.

Aldermen.

The next officer ranking in dignity to the Mayor is the Alderman. This office was the "comes civitatis" of the Roman era in England. The Aldermen of Canterbury appear in some degree to have held a conflicting jurisdiction with the chief authority. At all events, under the Plantaganet Kings, they exercised certain rights and privileges independent of the local powers; although probably subject to some duties required by the Burghmote. The Aldermanries were once held of the Crown in capite, but Henry III. permitted the citizens (other rights being reserved) to hold these offices in fee farm. The office was at first hereditary, and devisable by will, and might become the property of females, as became the Aldermanry of Westgate. Henry Garnate, Alderman, A.D. 1386, having devised his offices, privileges, and emoluments, to Sara, his wife.* This was the most important of the ancient Aldermanries. Each Alderman held an office of judicature, and probably it was at the city gate of his ward, especially when the number of Aldermen, being six, they represented the six wards of Northgate, Worthgate, Ridingate, Burgate, Newingate, and Westgate.

In 1278, the latter Aldermanry was the property of and part of the possession of the monks of Saint Augustine, who granted it in fee farm to Nicholas Doge, yielding to their treasury ten pounds stirling for all services, except the suit of the Burghmote at Canterbury, which in respect thereof he was bound to perform.†

In A.D. 1293, the six Aldermanries appear to have been held in capite of the Crown. William de Lynstede, an ecclesiastic, and rector of Sturry, 21 Edward I., held the Aldermanry of Westgate, by the "Serjeantry of one

* Somner. † Sandys.

sparrow-hawk, which is worth by the year ten marks." By a quo warranto, before the justices itinerant, the other five Aldermanries appear to have been held by private persons of the King. Thus, John de Handlo held Ridingate; Edmund de Tyerne, Worthgate; Thomas Chicke, Burgate; Stephen Chiche, Northgate; and John de Holt, Newingate.

A.D. 1483, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which the Aldermanry of Westgate was granted to the city, and Queeningate Lane, with postern and bridge, is assigned to the priory and convent of Christchurch; and in 1485, the same Aldermanry is restored to Sir George Brown's heirs, and Queeningate Lane reverts to the city.

The office of Alderman is of great antiquity. As an Anglo-Saxon title of dignity and authority, it was applied to the earl or nobleman to whom the charge of a shire was intrusted; although in some instances the Alderman acted as a Prefect, or Prepositus, over a hundred. Subsequently, it became a civic distinction, and lost much of its primary importance.

Sir Francis Palgrave is of opinion that in Anglo-Saxon times Aldermen in cities were, as Aldermen of hundreds, elected by the commons, and possessed the same rights and rank. This, however, seems doubtful.

A.D. July 1641, each Alderman, Common Councillor, and the Sheriff, were at their elections to provide one sufficient bucket for the use of the city in the event of fire. Eventually, the Aldermen had to furnish two buckets, and the Guildhall was formerly strung all over with these utensils.

A.D. 1664, the Aldermen and Councillors were ordered to attend the Mayor to church by 9 A.M., and thence to Burghmote, unless sick.

A.D. 1719, the Aldermen were paid 40*s.* each towards holding the courts at their respective wards. A.D. 1700, "Accounting day" being ordered to be held at Alderman Wilson's house, called the "Red Lion," the Aldermen were allowed twenty pence each only for their dinners, and a quart of wine for two. There is a note to this entry truly pathetic, namely, "Before these bad times, every man was allowed his bottle!" Yet, for all these privations, great were the privileges of a Canterbury

Alderman; even his house bore a special importance, a certain Hugh Johns * being disfranchised and imprisoned for striking a merchant with his dagger in the *house* of an Alderman!

Amongst special notices of our Aldermen we read, A.D. 1650, Alderman G. Mills was disfranchised and dismissed for joining in an insurrection; and subsequently Alderman Elwyn fell into disgrace, and upon a certain charge being proved against him, his name was ordered to be "blotted out" of the last court—a neat way certainly of getting rid of an Alderman.

The wives of the Aldermen once held a pew in the Cathedral. A.D. 1681, it was ordered to be new matted, cleaned, and repaired at the expense of the chamber. In 1668, 40*s.* was paid towards a similar expense. Each Alderman, on his election, *tem.* Elizabeth, in accordance with ancient usage, had to give a dinner to the whole court, or pay 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* by way of fine.

A.D. 1577, the Corporation provide candles for the morning prayers and lectures at Christchurch. Also, some years later, they provide a rope for ringing "Bell Harry," as a market call at a certain hour to the citizens. These seem rather extraordinary proceedings, and an interference which would not be permitted at the present day.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, the gowns of the Aldermen, before being sworn, were ordered to be of scarlet colour, trimmed with black boge (dyed lamb's wool). After they were sworn, the Aldermen were ordered to place such furs on the scarlet robes, as "hath been accustomed to be worn by the Mayor." A very precise piece of legislature.

Sheriff.

The custody of prisoners for debt, as well as of those charged with criminal practices, now belongs to the Sheriff of Canterbury.

The first appointment of this civic officer is not clearly apparent. The charter of Henry II. says:—"Moreover, for the amendment of the city, I have

* Records.

granted unto them that they be free of Brudtol, and of Childwita, and of Erisgiena, and of Scotula, so that my Sheriff of Canterbury, or any other Bailiff, shall not make Scotal."

From the above charter it does not appear that the citizens then enjoyed jurisdiction in criminal matters, as the Sheriff alluded to in the above appears to have been the King's officer, the Bailiffs themselves being then appointed by the Crown. Henry III., as before mentioned, grants the city itself to the citizens, in fee farm, with the privilege of choosing their own Bailiffs; from which time, according to Mr. Sandys, we may conclude the citizens exercised jurisdiction, both in civil and criminal matters. Accordingly, in the 21st year of Edward I., the citizens, in reply to a "quo warranto," are allowed their plea, that they possessed "the return of writs, the assize of bread and ale, pillory, tumbril, and gallows," the last three terms implying jurisdiction in criminal cases and in felonies.

The second charter of Henry III. grants to the citizens the return of writs, to plead and to be impleaded within the city; to be tried by citizens and not by foreigners; not to be imprisoned out of the city; no foreign Sheriffs to intermeddle in the city.

Previous to the charter of Henry VI., granted in the 26th of his reign, which authorizes the citizens to elect a Mayor, in the place of the Bailiffs, it is probable that the Bailiffs had charge and execution of the King's writs from the time of Henry III.

The Mayor, by Henry VI.'s charter, is invested with cognizance of all pleas, real and personal, in the Guildhall. He and his successors are to be justices of the peace, and to hear and determine felonies and other matters. Their Sergeants at Mace are to arrest persons, sued or indicted, and to imprison them in the King's gaol in the city, until delivered by course of law.

By another charter, dated the 31st year of the reign of the same King, it is ordered—"That the Mayor, with the assent of the Aldermen, shall elect a Bailiff yearly, who shall return and execute writs, account in the Exchequer, and answer for the fee farm of the city, all of which he may do by attorney. The same charter,

however, grants to the Mayor the custody of the gaol at Westgate.

The charter of Edward IV., 2nd August, 1462, which confirms to the citizens all their privileges, is the first that mentions the Sheriff by name as a civic officer; ordering that the Bailiff of the city for the time being shall be also Sheriff of the county of the city, and shall have the same power as other Sheriffs. There is a curious entry, however, in the minutes of Burghmote, nearly one hundred and eighty years later, namely, 22nd June, 1638, by which it seemed that the Mayor, not the Sheriff, was answerable for the custody of prisoners. In this year, two Sergeants at Mace are discharged for having released Mr. Anthony Aucher, for an arrest for two debts of 4,000*l.* without bail, taking his word for his appearance, "whereby the Mayor was in danger of paying the money." The responsibility of the Mayor arose perhaps from the fact that the Sergeants at Mace were officers of his appointment. The four Sergeants at Mace acted formerly as Sheriff's officers.

In the same year, A.D. 1683, the Sergeants were again in trouble, two of them being discharged for arresting a clergyman on a Sunday, as he was coming out of church.

The Chamberlain.

He was a sort of city treasurer. A.D. 1697, he was voted a salary of ten pounds per annum on account of the trouble accruing to himself and officers in the distribution of Mrs. Lovejoy's charitable gifts.

Previously to the appointment of a Chamberlain, there was an officer called a Cofferer to receive and account for the monies of the court; or, still more anciently, there were four Cofferers.

Coroner.

In a record in the chamber, dated A.D. 1396, the office of Coroner is mentioned, and the Priory of Christ Church named as a place where an inquest was held. Probably the office was of much more ancient date. The charter of Henry VI. directs that there should be one Coroner for the city, and that no Coroner for Kent

should intermeddle; and the charter of Edward IV. says, "that the Coroner for the city should be Coroner for the county of the city also."

Prisons.

The Castle at Canterbury was for many years used as a county prison, it being formerly out of the jurisdiction of the city, and it has ever since remained with its appurtenances an extra parochial place. The county magistrates used to hold Sessions in the Castle.

The ancient prison of the city, according to Somner, stood, A.D. 1175, in the parish of Saint George, on part of the site where the White Friars afterwards had their house. It was then called the "New Prison." It ceased to be used as a prison some time previous to A.D. 1317, and the place where it had stood acquired the name of the "Eald Gaole" (Old Gaol). The prison was then constructed near St. Andrew's Church. Here stood also the old Town Hall, or "Spech House," part of the same building. A hall on the site of the present Guildhall was used as such about 1453. One authority says the Guildhall was first so called A.D. 1427, and that it was rebuilt A.D. 1437.

The gaol, or common prison, was removed afterwards to Westgate, which had been rebuilt by Archbishop Sudbury, A.D. 1375, and chiefly at his own charges. Westgate Gaol was enlarged A.D. 1637; and has in our own times received considerable additions. A messuage and garden were purchased next Westgate, A.D. 1637, for the gaol keeper's house, for 70*l.*

The charter of Henry VI., dated 1453, alludes to the gaol at Westgate. St. George's Gate was also used as a prison.

The city gaol, A.D. March, 1800, contained one prisoner—a debtor.

August, 1806, 0 debtors; one felon.

July, 1810, 0 debtors; six felons.

A.D. 1802, Mr. Nield, acting justice for Kent, &c., officially visited "Canterbury gaol." "The place," he states, "was most offensive; no bedding was allowed in some of the cells, but an old rag of a rug, and the prisoners—felons and debtors, male and female—were

allowed promiscuously to consort together during the day time."

Besides the gaol, there was a Bridewell, or House of Correction, in Stour Street, where the Old Workhouse, now the School House of the Blue Coat Boys, stands. It has been unused of late years; but as recently as 1812, it was described by a competent authority as comprised in a miserable room about 12 feet square, furnished with two wooden bedsteads, a whipping stocks, and a block for beating hemp. The same writer describes the gaol at Westgate, A.D. 1809–10, as being a place wretched and filthy, and without classification, felons of the worst character and debtors incarcerated for a few shillings, all huddled together; and yet so insecurely confined that prisoners for trivial offences were doubly ironed lest they should escape. There was no place for exercise except the leads, on which, as a great favour, the gaoler permitted a prisoner occasionally to walk.

A.D. 1707, a practice obtained of certain prisoners from Westgate being allowed to be at large. This was afterwards prohibited, except by special licence from the Mayor.

The executions in Canterbury, judging by the number of gibbets, must have been numerous; and among the individuals who suffered we may note, A.D. 1661, two reputed witches. The Sheriff's expenses on this occasion were 38*l*.

The jury presentments two hundred years since give a vivid picture of the then state of the thoroughfares in this city. One man, a carpenter or builder, returning from the woods at Nether Hardres, cooly shoots down a load of timber before his door for want of a timber yard. Another drives posts in the footway before his house, upon which he displays his merchandise. A third keeps a whole legion of pigs, which live at large in happy freedom in the streets, like the dogs that prowl about an Eastern city. A fourth makes an invasion upon the narrow streets by erecting a porch or shed, or perhaps a bay window, within which to drink or to smoke and otherwise enjoy himself. In some places ponderous signs swung quite across from house to house, and over-

hanging stories above and covered ways beneath, as in the ancient "Mercerie," made it a marvel that any one who entered at one end of these "thoroughfares" should ever make his exit at the other.

The somewhat reprehensible practice of certain of the citizens, including some of the Corporation, of drinking with the prisoners then confined at St. George's Gate, was ordered, 15th Elizabeth, to be restricted to obtaining a licence from the Mayor

The Town Clerk,

called also, 25th Henry VIII., the "Common Clerk," seemed to have exercised very miscellaneous duties or avocations. He was allowed to keep a shop next to the Guildhall, called the "Fyle"—not an inappropriate name, perhaps, if he were an "attorney"—in consideration that he or his deputy be there, and *instruct children!* He seems also to have been a sort of civic messenger, sent about the county on important occasions.

A.D. 1650, John Crane, Town Clerk, was elected an Alderman, and then compelled to fine off, paying 5*l.*

Law was comparatively cheap. A.D. 1636, the Town Clerk was paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for ingrossing every lease, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for inrolling the same; the Mayor and Aldermen being allowed 12*d.* conjointly for wine on the sealing of each lease.

The ancient Corporation of Canterbury, in connection with the administration of the laws, had a power to admit parties to act as attornies. A.D. 1665, this privilege was restricted to those persons who had been brought up as clerks under the Recorder and the Town Clerk, or who had served under attornies.

The Watch and Police.

At an early period various attempts were made for providing a watch for the city of Canterbury. At first there was a garrison in the Castle, but whether its inmates were much protection to the citizens seems doubtful. It is recorded in the Crown Rolls, 15th Edward II.,

"that one William Savage, *janitor portæ*, carried off the daughter of Hamon Trendhurst, and detained her in the Castle for eight days."

A.D. 1640, Isaac Bond is appointed bellman, and one department of his duty consisted in perambulating the city of a night, to look out after the fires and candles of the inhabitants, and to knock at every one's house "who had gone to bed with his doors open." Also, "to inform Mr. Mayor, or the master of the family, of all such servants as he should find in the streets at unseasonable hours and gadding about." This poor man had his politics, and was displaced at the Restoration. A few years later, A.D. 1660, the bellman was allowed a coat of green cloth at the city's expense—a perquisite not badly earned if he faithfully reported all he saw, and was never silenced by a fee.

The night watch about this time consisted of twelve persons, four of whom had to stand at St. Andrew's Church as a *corps de reserve*. The church was then in the middle of the parade. The remainder of the watch (eight) were divided into two companies, who walked up and down the streets. The watch was set at ten o'clock by the constable of the watch, and continued until four o'clock of the morning. Aldermen of the watch were likewise appointed.

Prisoners' Basket Carrier.

A.D. 1703, an entry occurs in the Burghmote records concerning the "prisoners' basket carrier." Probably the duties consisted in perambulating the streets to obtain gratuities of victuals for the support of the poor prisoners. The office not being sufficiently remunerative, he received, A.D. 1707, the additional appointment of "swine driver," whereby he acquired official authority to drive to pound, or elsewhere secure, all those animals and other cattle found wandering at large in the streets and public places. A.D. 1711, he is ordered to have a new coat provided for him. Thirty-five years later, to his other occupations is added the augean duty of keeping clear the great sewer at King's Bridge. Doubtless such a task was not very repugnant to an individual in his humble capacity, when we find that in the pre-

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Canterbury Castle

ceding year Alderman Blotting received two guineas for making the gallows and coffin of a man named William Hulke, who was hanged in the city.

The office of prisoners' basket carrier was in existence as late as March, 1806, when the Court of Burghmote order this official a new hat and a great coat.

The Castle.

The Castle is mentioned in Domesday Survey.* We have no description of the edifice at that period; probably it differed entirely from the present building, which is of Norman construction, and of similar design and plan to that at Rochester.

The Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis VIII., when he invaded England to wrest the regal authority from King John, A.D. 1216, received the submission of the Castle of Canterbury.

That there was a Castle at Canterbury before the Conquest is most certain, and at that period the King had it for certain burgages in exchange with the Archbishop and the Abbot of Saint Augustine. Henry II. considerably increased its extent and fortifications. As early as the reign of Edward II., a common gaol or prison was kept within it, and according to Lambarde, it was at one period the principal gaol of the county. When it ceased to be employed for this purpose, at least about 1577, it fell into neglect and decay.

It still presents an imposing appearance: its great extent (for its area is eighty-eight feet by eighty feet), and its walls about eleven feet thick, give some idea of its former strength and magnificence.

Its massive walls have defied, in some degree, storm and spoliation. The keep, though deprived of its towers, still remains an imposing record of the rough and violent times, when strong men had recourse to strong measures alike for oppression and defence.

On the third, or state floor, were large arched windows; at the north side was the grand entrance, now bricked up, and concealed by the works of a gas company. Under this entrance, as in many Norman castles, was the prin-

* Canterbury Castle is also alluded to, "Annales Mon. Augustini" MS., A.D. 1075. Lewis, p. 91.

cipal dungeon. There were, however, other places of confinement; in one of these the Jews, under one of the persecutions which that people suffered from the bigotry, or the avarice of the age, were incarcerated.

Dr. Plot mentions that, in his time, A.D. 1672, many of the stones on the north-east staircase were inscribed with versicles from the psalms, in Hebrew characters. The writer of this work has in vain endeavoured to find some of these interesting records. Much of the fabric and materials of the Castle have been year by year destroyed, or used for buildings; and some idea of the extent of this ancient fortress may be surmised by noting its present remains, and then surveying the small houses in its neighbourhood, the greater part of which have been constructed from its materials. Before it was dismantled, as far back as the time of George II., it was for some time used as a sessions house for the county.

A portion of the Dane John Field seems at one time to have been part of the Castle domain.

The Castle at Canterbury is said, in 1075, to have sheltered an esquire, who had committed a robbery on the goods of a knight. St. Mildred, to whom the said culprit paid some devotional acts, set him free—the iron gates of the Castle opening to liberate him. This looks very like a parody upon Holy Scripture. (See "Annales Mon. Augusti." MS.). Canterbury Castle and the Town Hall were, June 1381, assaulted, taken, and plundered by the insurgents under John Salos of Malling, who carried off from houses, and from private individuals, goods to the value of one thousand pounds, and set free all the prisoners in the Spech House and Castle. William Sepvans, Sheriff of Kent, was dragged to prison. They made him swear he would deliver all the rolls and writs that were in his custody. The Castle being broken into, they liberated John Burgh, an approver, Richard Derby, a clerk and a convict, Agnes Jehyn, and Joan Hancock, prisoners whom they found fettered and manacled in the said Castle. See Plate No. 22.

As a tale of olden time, namely, in the reign of Edward II., it is related "that Walter de Widering and Martin de Lamberhurst sat bound as prisoners at a place called the "Barbican," nigh unto the Castle, begging

their bread. Breaking his chain and padlock, Walter drew away with him the said Martin, and took sanctuary at the Church of St. Mary. Thence he removed and adjured the kingdom, whilst Martin of his own accord returned to his prison."

The Exchange.

There was a Royal Exchange in Canterbury, situated near the Black Friars, in the time of Henry III., A.D. 1222; and a Mint, at which the King, the Archbishop, and the Abbot of St. Augustine coined money. It is probable that the Mint existed even in the time of the Anglo-Saxons; at all events, we have the evidence of an Anglo-Saxon gold coin in the Louvre Collection, struck perhaps under the direction of an Archbishop, with the legend of "Dorovernis" on the reverse.

It is probable that the Cambium Regis did not exist after the time of Edward III. The King bestowed it upon Eastbridge Hospital. It is mentioned as a building called "Le Chaunge," lying in All Saints' parish. An ancient Mint stood not far off in the parish of Saint Mary Bredman. Mention is made of a Mint Office in the parish of Saint George, over and against the Pillory. There was, besides this, the Mint in the Cathedral precincts. Anciently the Almonry of the Priory of Christ Church, the Chapel of the Almonry, and the lodgings of the Chaplains belonging to it, formed the site of the King's School buildings. The Kings of England and the Archbishops minted coin in Canterbury; and on the Plantaganet money especially, the names of Canterbury mint masters occur. Henry III. issued a prohibition, that no Englishman should make change of plate or silver, but only at his exchanges at London or Canterbury. King Athelstan had in Anglo-Saxon times allowed Canterbury seven minters, a greater number than granted to any other place but London, which had eight. Coins of Archbishop Plegmund, who lived in the time of King Alfred, were minted at Canterbury.

Almonry.

An ancient Almonry (the name is retained by certain tenements to this day) stood on the city side without the walls of St. Augustine's Monastery. The establishment entertained certain poor brothers and sisters who lived upon the broken victuals from the great Monastery close by. There were chapels annexed to this Almonry, and on the east side of Chantry Lane once stood "Doge's Chantry." A small portion of the old building is said to be still recognised in a garden.

The Chantry of Lakedale, or Lockingdale, existed in the manor of Caldecote, in or near Mote Park, within the jurisdiction of the city. The manor of Caldecote—a name occurring frequently in the city records—included the largest portion of the Old Park, part of the road of Saint Martin's Hill, part of Babb's Hill, and the meadows adjoining the eastern end of it.

Jewry.

The Jews in Canterbury seemed at one time to have been rather numerous; until the last fifty years, they lived mostly without the city walls. Anciently, however, they were localized in the place called after them "Jewry Lane." Their houses here, according to Somner, were nearly twenty in number, and they had a synagogue close by at a place which was on the site of an old Inn, "the Saracen's Head," the stone parlour of which was mounted upon a vault, and ascended by stone steps. Here was also the school of the Jews. Ancient inscriptions—being canticles and extracts from the psalms—once bore witness to the imprisonments and proscription of the Jews of Canterbury.

The Gates of the City.

There were formerly six gates to the city, or seven if we include Queeningate. The last was probably a gate not in use for the public generally, but more for the occupiers of the ecclesiastical houses of the Cathedral and Priory. It was mentioned in the time of Henry IV. as the "Little gate called Quyningate." There were several postern gates.* We find them existing at Northgate, opposite Knott's Lane; † at St. Mildred's, in the wall near

* Somner says only three. † Records, 1749.

St. Peter's Lane; the Christ Church postern, near St. Michael's Gate; and one leading to the Saint Stephen's Road by a tower in Pound Lane.

The six gates were—Newingate or St. George's, Ridingate, Worthgate, Westgate, and Northgate. Of these gates, Westgate alone remains. St. George's Gate was taken down in 1801. Burgate was destroyed bit by bit some twenty years later, and Northgate was merely an archway under the Church of St. Mary, and partially removed when the church was rebuilt, and put back so as to leave a clear and open way from the city towards the country.

The *Westgate* is still an ornament to the city. It is an interesting old structure of the time of Richard II. First a ford, then a bridge, was constructed in front of it, close to which was an ancient water mill. In the entrance arch to Westgate, the groves for the Portcullis are still to be observed, and above it the machicolated openings through which melted lead and other destructive materials might be poured or cast down upon any assailants. Westgate long remained as a place where the ancient Aldermen, then Magistrates, sat and dispensed justice. It was also the common prison of the city, when the "Eald Goal" (Old Goal) ceased to be used.* A narrow lane led to the latter place from the old church of St. Andrew. This prison, which was called also the Spech House, is mentioned in the Crown Rolls, 11 Edward II., and must have also once served the uses of a Guildhall. Westgate is said to have been erected in the time of Archbishop Sudbury, who was so cruelly slain on Tower Hill by the followers of Jack Cade.

Ridingate, or Road Gate, led from one of the principal vias, the "Watlinga Strete" of the Saxons, towards Dover and Lympne.

It is mentioned in the Records of Saint Augustine as early as 1040, and doubtless it pointed to one of the principal modes of egress and ingress to the Roman Canterbury. Roman arches were said by Somner to have existed in the ancient fabric of this gate, which was destroyed in 1782, and in 1791 an arch was thrown over its remaining piers, making a connection with the Dane

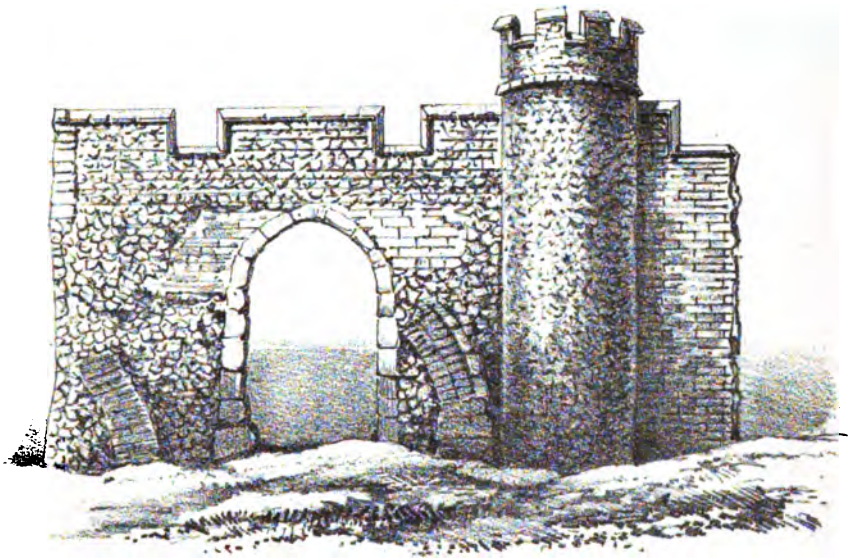
* It is amusing to refer to the different modes in ancient deeds in which, the existence of this old prison was expressed. Thus we have guiola, carcer gaula, gayola, and eald goale.

John and the present terrace. (See Plate, No. 14, from Dr. Stukeley's sketch; also, a view of the last gate, Plate 14a.) The Church of St. Edmund, King and martyr, stood near this gate. The exact locality of the church lay, I think, some twenty yards beyond it, approaching the turning towards the present Cattle Market, along the borders of which were found, during the drainage works of 1867–8, many coffins containing skeletons. A small metal cross taken from one of the interments is in my collection. The ancient foundations of the church lay almost midway in the present road.

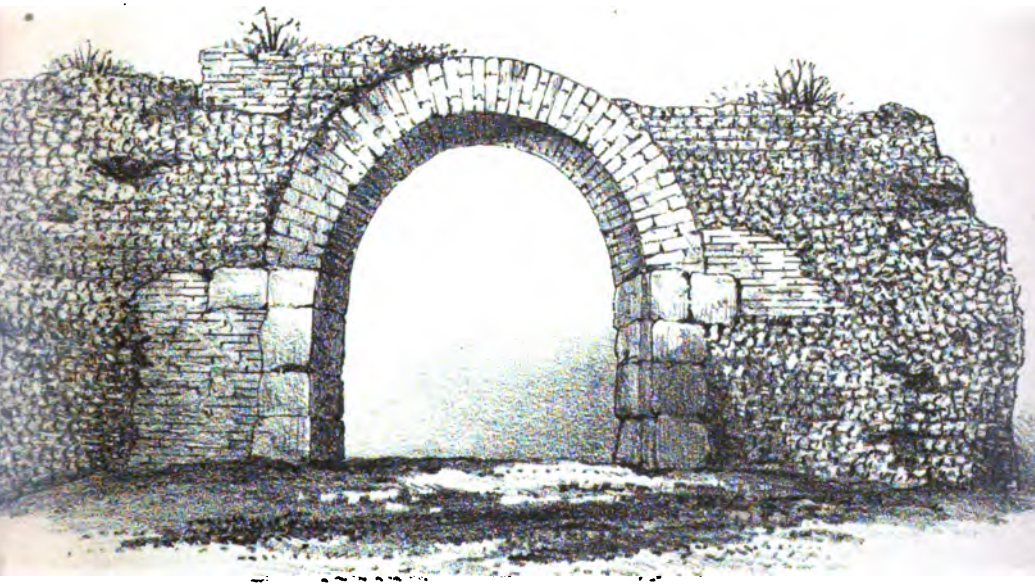
The way through the gate, passing by Barham Downs, obtained the name of "Dun Strete," or way over the Downs. It is evident that Ridingate, though presenting a very modern and mean appearance, was one of the ancient gates of the city. A.D. 1563, the Privy Council ordered this gate to be widened sufficiently for carriages to pass through. When the Ridingate was taken down in 1782, some portion seems to have remained. An archway was thrown over the road by Alderman Simmons.

Of the *Worthgate* there remains no vestiges above ground. It stood at or near the courtyard of the Castle; not, however, necessarily connected with the Castle, but as a mode of egress from the city. Its exact site was probably in Castle Street, in a line with the outer wall of the Castle, S.W.; but some excavations which the writer of this work proposed to make at his own expense to decide its claim to a Roman origin were prohibited by the city authorities, upon what principles no one seems exactly to comprehend. It was a question intimately connected with the boundaries of Canterbury itself under the Romans, and might have decided an important controversy, and was in this respect, as well as in increasing our knowledge of the ancient boundaries of the city, a question of utility. This gate, which is alluded to by Dr. Stukeley as partly of a Roman character, was pulled down in 1791.* It was removed

*At the same time a new road was made from Wincheap across the Castle dike and yard into the city by Castle Street. To effect this, the Corporation, by an exchange with Mr. J. Balderson, acquired a sufficient portion of the Castle yard to carry out their design. The year previous, the Corporation had obtained an Act of Parliament to make a direct road from St. George's Gate by a new causeway, thence denominated the New Dover Road.



OLD RIDINGATE



THE WORTHGATE

Kell lith & Castle St Holborn E C.

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piecemeal to a garden in Canterbury bordering on the River Stour, and then re-erected after a certain fashion. It then again migrated to the park at Lee Priory, where it was set up. It has, however, long since disappeared. The late Sir Egerton Brydges has given an engraving of it, or rather of a gate composed of its remains, in one of the works which issued from the Lee Priory Press.* I give an illustration of the old Worthgate (Plate 14) as drawn by Dr. Stukeley.

The late *Wincheap Gate* was an erection of a comparatively recent date. It stood over the way when a road was turned round by the St. Mary de Castro Cemetery from Castle Street. An examination of its foundations, which stood merely on rubble and cement, proved that it had no claim to a remote antiquity. See Plate 21.

St. George's Gate, otherwise Newingate, or the New Gate, otherwise "Ote Hill Gate," presented considerable similarity to Westgate (see Plate 19). As it stood on the edge of the ancient city foss or ditch, there was most likely a bridge attached to it, and thence no doubt the name that the street now bears. St. George's Gate fell a victim to the Canterbury innovators. It was removed in 1801-2,† and we give from the Records in a note below the cost of its removal. The summum totum

* Hasted says the Worthgate was removed in its integrity. The diameter of the arch was 12 feet 3 inches. Two, if not three, gateways are engraved as ornamental sketches in the books printed at the Lee Priory Press; none of these, however, have the characteristics of Roman work, nor do any of them agree with the engraving of Dr. Stukeley.

† Cost of the taking down of Saint George's Gate in 1802.

Records, 22 April, 1801.

St. George's Gate ordered to be taken down, and the cisterns to be removed into the yard and tower, part of the city estate in St. Michael's Lane demised to Mr. Faulkner.

22 October, 1802.

The surveyor, on the part of the court, presents a bill for the expenses incurred in improvements of the Cattle Market, the taking down of Saint George's Gate, removing the water cisterns, and replacing the same:—

	£	s.	d.
Amount	3,820	0	0
Allowance for lead and other materials	283	0	0
	3,537	0	0
Part repaid by sale of estates	1,300	0	0
Balance due	£2,237	0	0

Ordered sale of other estates to meet the same.

certainly presents an astounding amount as an expense incurred in pulling down an old gateway. It is a comment upon the doings of a once irresponsible municipal authority.*

The date of the erection of St. George's Gate is not exactly known. It was probably subsequent to the Westgate. Somner, however, tells us it was built about the period that Burgate was erected, and that there is an allusion to it in a Bull of Pope Alexander III. in the middle of the eleventh century, addressed to the Church of St. George of Newingate, in the city of Canterbury. This must, if authentic, have referred to an older gate, whose site the recent structure occupied some centuries afterwards. A way from this gate trends also towards Oaten Hill.

William Bigg, Mayor, who with John Coppyn of Whitstable, built the Market Cross at the Bull's Stake, gave, A.D. 1460, ten pounds towards the work at St. George's Gate. It is evident a gate was then in existence, or being built; but whether the above donation related to its repair or erection we cannot determine. A.D. 1536, St. George's Gate was the prison for offenders amongst the freemen of the city.

The *Burgate*, *Burh*, or *City Gate* was one of the most interesting remains of Old Canterbury. We gave an illustration from an original drawing (Plate No. 20). Some of the coats of arms of the Archbishops and others, which were once sculptured on it, are still preserved on the wall of a neighbouring house. It fell a victim some years later than St. George's Gate to the hands of the destructionists, but underwent a sort of piecemeal dissolution. By the Burghmote Records we find, 11th May, 1809, an Alderman was permitted to take down the south side of Burgate to improve premises

* In the year 1824 the Westgate was very nearly incurring the same fate. An allusion to this attempt appeared in a letter in the Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1824:—

"I am sorry to hear that the Corporation intend taking down that fine gate of the jail, which is in a bad state and cannot be repaired. The Canterbury antiquaries are asleep. C. W. L."

No "public utility" could be served probably in its remaining, and "a wagon loaded with hop bags could not pass under it." It has been repaired, however. It still stands, and the hop bags and pockets glide round it in safety.

St GEORGE'S GATE.

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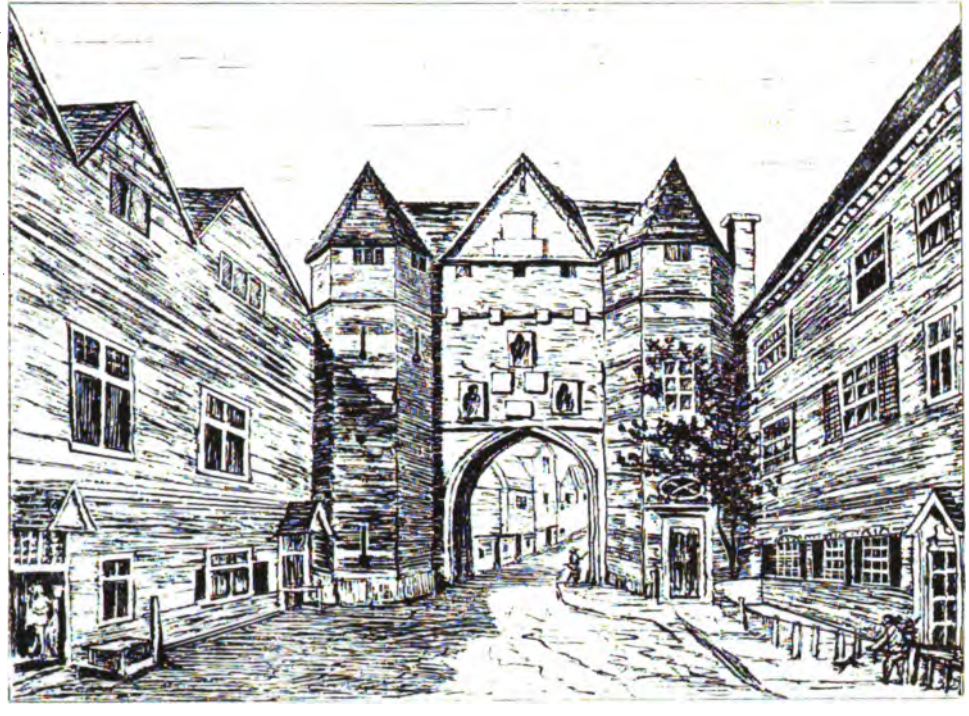

The Burgate.

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Wincheap Gate, Canterbury.

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Roding Gate Canterbury.

belonging to him. In 1781 the centre of the gate had been taken away. In 1822 its destruction was completed. It anciently bore also the name of St. Michael's Gate, and was probably the principal gate of the city.

Somner tells us, in mediæval times King Ethelbert's charter, if worthy of credence, speaks of this gate—that is, of an ancient gate on its site. In 1475 it is said to have been newly built, and at the charges of certain patriotic citizens, whose names were once recorded on the gate itself, and which we will not omit noting, namely, John Franingham, John Nethersole, and Edmund Minot.* Originally there were rope walks between St. George's and St. Michael's Gates along the Town Dike.

Wincheap Gate is said to have been newly built in the last century by Dr. Jacob, who was treated at the city's expense. In 1785 the wooden gates at Westgate and St. George's were removed, so that the citizens could walk in and out at any hour they pleased, at least we presume so.

From time to time the towers on the city walls were let out by the Corporation to private persons. Thus Agnes Wood hired the tower by the Postern Gate, and two parcels of land adjoining, for 43*s.* per annum. Another tower in Northgate was leased out in 1718. A garden and a tower near the Postern, Northgate, was leased in 1572 for 31 years for six shillings per annum.

In 1796† the "oziers" in Westgate were sold by public auction. Even the great gate at the Augustine Friars, with some land adjoining it, was hired out. Some of the lanes even were sold by the Corporation! Thus Fryar's Lane was purchased by a Mr. Samson for 140*l.*, and the freehold of Break Pot Lane in St. Peter's was devised to a Mr. Sutton. A.D. 1799, part of the city wall in Pound Lane was sold.

The city towers standing in Mantle's garden by the Cattle Market were recommended to be taken down, and no doubt they were then demolished, as a long space now exists between the last tower in the Dane John Field and the first along Broad Street.

* Somner, p. 9.

† In this year a road was made to the bridge (now removed) at the bottom of Cold Harbour Lane, Northgate.

The close of the last century and the commencement of the present were periods in which the destructionists in the Corporation had full sway, St. George's Gate, Burgate, &c., falling before them. Westgate towers were a few years later doomed, but happily respited.

Shops used to once exist in the city ditch or foss, when it had dried up, we hope.

A great sale of Corporation property took place in June 1801, on account of the heavy charges pressing on the city, or in anticipation of the expenses about to be incurred in the destruction of St. George's Gate, and the taking up a few conduit pipes.

There is an entry as far back as 1363, which records that one John de Brigge conveys to the commonalty of the city four acres of land, now called the "Gravel Pits," in the suburbs of Wincheap, in the Parish of St. Mary de Castro. Where could these four acres lie? The present dimensions of the parish hardly seem to embrace such a quantity.

Lighting up the Streets, &c.

After the following manner was the lighting of the city provided for:—About 35th Henry VIII., during every dark night, the Aldermen, Common Councilmen, and every innholder, were severally bound to find one candle with light at their doors; and if any lanthorn were stolen, the offender was to be put in the stocks or in the pillory. The candles were to be lighted at six o'clock until they burnt out. No doubt there was considerable variation in the length and breadth of these dips, and some of them, doubtless, very soon "burnt out." This was positively all the lighting that Canterbury received, except such as might be supplied by occasional links and torches; and this state of affairs continued until the middle of the next century, when the order for exhibiting one candle in a lanthorn was extended to every householder living next to the gates of the city, from the 1st of November to the 2nd of February. They must, however, have shed a dim light enough, these little twinkling candles.

In the 6th year of Edward VI., a petition was

* Committee Book, 17 June, 1801.

addressed by the Mayor and Commonalty—a "humble supplication" to the King for disparking of the "King's Park," that the same be employed for use of the inhabitants of the city. Where this park was located, we are unable to determine.

A.D. 1539, William Sanford, recalls the supremacy of the spiritual, not the lay Pope, by tolling the "ave bell," contrary to the half reformation measures of Henry VIII. A.D. 1550, there is an entry for "the burning of Arden," and the execution of one George Bradshaw. A.D. 1571, Mother Hudson is presented to the grand jury as a witch.

In the reign of Elizabeth swanupers were appointed, at a stipend of 21*s.* each per annum, to look after the city swans.

Sword Bearer.

This appointment was always vested in the Mayor, and in December 1805 the original order was confirmed.

The Plague, &c.

The plague made several visitations to Canterbury. Female inspectors and nurses were appointed by the authorities. The Walloons, and other refugees, were accommodated with tents in the Dungeon Field. Gunpowder was exploded to purge the air during the visitation of the plague in the reign of Elizabeth; and a certain poor discarded priest, called Friar Hull, was employed during the thickest of the pestilence to go about killing the cats and dogs in the streets, lest they should convey infection, and for which perilous occupation he received the sum of 2*s.* paid out the city chamber.

8th June, 1630, tents were erected on the Dane John to accommodate infected persons. Also in A.D. 1637-38, the infected had to carry white wands when they went forth into the streets, for forty days. The penalty for default was the stocks for 24 hours. No joke this, to have had the plague, and to sit in the stocks for a day and a night! Certain women were appointed in each ward to attend the sick, and to buy for them. The Great Plague of London (1665) visited Canterbury severely.

Jury presentments appear to have been common for almost every kind of offence. Now a case of murder is recorded; now a breach made in the city wall; now a citizen is indicted for an assault made by force of arms upon a neighbour; now for selling beer in "wooden bound pots;" now he is proceeded against for setting up a common tippling house, or for neglecting his pavement, or for taking more than a penny for an ale quart. January, 1653, the grand jury present one William Lee, "that he not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being persuaded by the Devil, &c., to kill his wife, Frances Lee, by certain figs and makaroons, by him poisoned and compounded with ratsbane, of which eating the said Frances Lee died." 15th December, 1663, the jury present Thomas Gray, of the parish of St. Alphage, as "a disturber of the peace of the common people, and daily and openly a 'common wonder' against his neighbours."

The Guildhall or Court-house,

until the time of Henry VI. was called the "Spech House," but since that time the Guildhall. "In 1427 the hall is first called the Guildhall. In 1437 it is rebuilt. In 1408 the accounts mention a payment for carriage of gunnery from the old chamber to the new chamber, also great repairs done at the old hall, and to the south chamber next the street."—(Bunce's Minutes.) "It was situate nigh the Lion Inn in High Street, in Canterbury, in the parish of St. Mary, Bredman," and is still a conspicuous building in High Street, *rebuilt* about the time of Queen Anne. A.D. 1598, a post was set up at the Guildhall door, at which rogues and idle persons were punished. In 1646 the Chamberlain of Canterbury was ordered to provide sufficient hangings or tapestry before the Town Hall door, for keeping the hall warm at public meetings.

Recorder.

The name of Recorder first occurs A.D. 1592, when John Bois, afterwards Sir John Bois, is directed to bear the name of "Recorder" of the city.

July, A.D. 1806, the Guildhall was ordered to be put into a complete state of repair. The same year, a sale

being made of part of the land on which the "Lyon" public house stood, near the Guildhall, the new street, called Guildhall Street, was made, according to the provisions of an Act of Parliament.

Vineyards.

The vine, as in many parts of England, appeared to have been extensively cultivated round Canterbury. At least, we have notices of several vineyards.

In the plan of the Monastry attached to the Cathedral, and contained in a MS. of the 12th century at Trinity College, Cambridge, attributed to the Monk Eadwin, the course of water brought into the city by means of pipes of lead from the springs near St. Martin's Hill, is traced through cornfields and *vineyards* to the city wall, and thence to various ecclesiastical buildings attached to the Monastry.

Sir Robert Atkyns, however, in his "History of Gloucestershire," has endeavoured to prove that the Latin terms used for vineyards meant nothing more than apple orchards, and that the liquor produced was not wine, though so called, but cider! Writers, however, of good authority have alluded to the grape as being expressly grown for wine.

From a roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinford, Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 1289-90, we find wine of two sorts alluded to: red wine imported, and white wine chiefly, if not wholly, home made. Bishop Swinford's vineyard at Ledbury is recorded to have yielded seven dolia (pipes?) of white wine, and nearly one of verjuice. It was the custom in this country in the Roman Catholic times to bless the vineyards.

Canterbury a City and County.

The charter of Edward the 4th to this city, dated August, 1463, decrees that "Canterbury from the feast of St. Michael now next to come be constituted one whole county by itself, corporate in deed and name, and distinct, and utterly separate from the said county of Kent for ever, and not a parcel of the same county."

The charter of Edward the 4th was one of the most important documents conceded to the city. It has been supposed amongst the reasons assigned for making Canterbury a county, that it originated because the Cathedral once contained the tomb and relics of Thomas Becket, and was honoured by being the burial place of the Black Prince, and the city has been from time immemorial the metropolitan see of England; but the only reason Edward assigns for making our city a county is "for the greater tranquillity, profit, and increase of the citizens of the said city."

A.D. April, 1803, the "Lamb" arches over the river were ordered to be taken down.

Disputed Privileges, &c.

Various causes of litigation between the Corporation, the Sheriff of Kent, the Monks of Christ Church, and of Saint Austin, the Dominican and other Friars were often occurring. A dispute arose at one time between the citizens and the ecclesiastics, because the latter set up a plea that they were exempt from the various imposts and contributions required for benevolences and other State exactions, which were so frequently demanded. The most constant sources of contention, however, were disputes concerning privileges and boundaries, the use of certain mills, and the diversion of their watercourses. Among places contested in respect of the limits of the city, and as lying beyond its jurisdiction, were the Monastery of St. Austin, the Boroughs

of Longport and Stablegate, the Mote, St. Sepulchre, and the Hospital of St. James. There is a curious entry respecting the latter place which occurs in a memorandum among the city records. It was on the occasion of a visit of Queen Mary to Canterbury. The Sovereign was proceeding to Eastwell through Wincheap to the house of Sir Thomas Moyle:—"Before Her Grace rode Master Mayor, bearing the mace of the city, until he came to the lane leading to the meadow of the late Sir Thomas Hales, Knight; at this place Sir Thomas Moyle, High Sheriff of Kent, required Master Mayor to lay down his mace, which the Mayor denied to do, but said he would bear the mace as far as the Liberty of the said city went, which was to the utter part of the stone wall of St. Jacob (St. James); and so did. All which way the Sheriff of Kent gave place, and bore no rod; and at the utter part of the said stone wall the Mayor took leave of the Queen's Majesty, and she departed, giving him most hearty thanks." From this we perceive that the Mayor, mace in hand, rode triumphant at the head of the cavalcade.

The following entry records how a thanksgiving was kept, June, 1688:—"Ordered, a bonfire to be made on the Dungeon Hill, and wine to be *drunk on Sunday next*, in the evening, it being Thanksgiving day for the birth of a Prince." This infant was the unfortunate "Pretender," as he was afterwards designated.

Nine years previous, the Prince of Orange passed through Canterbury; and we are informed, "that the train bands were supplied with beer and tobacco, when they kept guard at the 'Three Tuns' during the time the Prince and the Princess remained in the city."

Before this period the Castle and the city fortifications had begun to be neglected. A.D. 1667, entries occur in the Records which indicate encroachments and undermining, and notices concerning the pulling down of the city walls, and an appropriation of the materials to building purposes. The wooden gates still remained at the public entrances; indeed, some new ones had been set up, A.D. 1662, at the moderate cost of 2*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, and the city musicians, as we are informed, played a merry strain at their inauguration.

A.D. 1689, the Ducking Stool is directed "to be repaired, and a new one provided for the punishment of common scolds and brawlers, the city having of late been much troubled by such people." Seated on the stool, or rather chair, through the arms of which passed a pole, penning in the offending lady, she was ducked repeatedly in the River Stour, until a cure was supposed to be effected. At Sandwich, ladies gifted with unruly tongues were buried up to their chins in the sands, and the Burgesses of Fordwich, a quiet little corporate town on the Stour, about two miles from Canterbury, followed the example of the cathedral city.

A.D. 1660–70, orders are issued for making these stools. The locality of one made 1665 was near Browning's Mill.

Complaints were made in the 17th century of the quantity of tokens and farthings issued by various tradesmen in Canterbury, many of them being fabricated with metal greatly alloyed. Tokens had been issued in much earlier times, but the coining of this species of currency came into general practice about 1648, when the Royal prerogative of coining was set aside. They were cried down, but apparently without much effect, by a proclamation of Charles II. The practice of coining had not been restricted in early times to royalty, as the Archbishop, the Earl and others partially enjoyed the right.

Tokens have a certain importance beyond their value, as they bear records of guilds, companies, families, and even of old customs. They exhibit also the heraldic arms of cities, towns, trades, and religions, and other corporations, and possess an historic as well as an antiquarian interest. The issue of tokens seems to have been extensive: more than sixteen hundred different impressions, consisting of pence, halfpence, and farthings, or what purposed to represent such coinage, having been circulated in England, Wales, and Ireland. Some of these exhibit curious examples of ancient weapons, implements, and costume, and of signs of shops and symbols of various occupations. The most ancient tokens were chiefly composed of lead, and were probably issued in consequence of the great deficiency of legal coin of small value. "Tokens called setons, or missilia, and counters,

the latter used in the computation of accounts, were also circulated." *

A.D. 1446, there occurs an entry respecting "The Hermitage," being "part of the great Dungeon land." It would now be difficult to identify this locality, nor have we much reason to connect it with an incident which occurred four years afterwards, when one "Bluberd," an hermit, was apprehended for instigating an insurrection. He suffered summary punishment, his head being exposed on the ancient West Gate. "Bluberd's" real name was Thomas Cheyney. He was one of the followers of Jack Cade, and was taken and executed A.D. 1450, 29 Henry VI., and being questioned in London, his head was sent to Canterbury. See proceedings and records of Privy Council, vol. 6.

A.D. 1658, Robert Mills is appointed beadle. Among the duties prescribed him is, "to go with the 'hospital boys,' to wait upon the Mayor for the time being on the Lord's day, and to whip all such as shall be adjudged to be whipped by the court of sessions of this city." The same year exhibits the appointment of a worshipful Alderman to an office generally considered as somewhat derogatory to civic dignity,—"Ordered, that Mr. Alderman Knight, one of the Aldermen of the city, be appointed common scavenger of the city, from the feast of the blessed Virgin now last past, for one whole year." Nor was this appointment much of a sinecure; for in the centre of a populous district there was kept an open place called the "Black Dyke," wherein not only was cast the offal of the city, but dead horses and oxen, and there left to breed disease and contagion. No wonder the city suffered severely from several visitations of the plague.

Mills, Navigation of the River, &c.

In Somner's time the city contained within its liberties five water mills; but in the reign of King Stephen there were in addition seven other mills, namely, a mill at Shanford, Godleshan, Muniche Miln, Hotte's Miln, Crine's Miln or Midle's Miln, probably in the island belonging to the Friars, and the mills of Saliford and Saint Mildred. Westgate Mill is mentioned in Domesday Book as belonging to the Priory of Saint Gregory. The Abbot's

* Mr. C. Roach Smith.

Mill belonged to the Abbot and Monks of St. Augustine, Barton Mill to Christ Church, the King's Mill to the city. The mill at Westgate came afterwards into the possession of Archbishop Peckham. The old term of "Schepesshote Miln" was applied to one of the above mills. It was probably so called from the fall of water which drove the wheel, as if written "Steep Shot Mill."

As early as 1393, the King's Mill was let at an annual rent of 100 qrs. wheat. A.D. 1695, Thomas Rogers undertakes under the Act of 6 Henry VIII. to make the river navigable from Fordwich to Browning's, now Barton, Mill. A lease is granted him for 41 years. Mention is made of Fulling Mills, and one is recorded to have existed at Barton, valued from the proprietors to the city by arbitration, and taken down to facilitate certain improvements in the river. These mills were a great obstruction to the navigation of the Stour, and an Act was passed in the reign of Henry VIII. for deepening and cleaning the river, and making it navigable for boats and barges. In Elizabeth's reign, 1,400*l.* was expended for that purpose. Many of the mills had been removed previous to this. A great flood, or rather series of floods, and want of sufficient funds, rendered abortive all efforts to maintain the Stour as a navigable river above Fordwich Bridge; the stream becoming gradually obstructed by shoals, and impassable for vessels of burthen.

Numerous wharfs once existed, at which vessels of from six to ten tons burthen formerly unloaded their freights. One of these wharves has recently been laid open to view by some drainage works done at "Coal" or "Cold Harbour," Northgate.

"The King's River," as the main branch of the Stour was called, was often farmed out by the Corporation. Thus, A.D. 1591, George Tofts and Richard Ashenton paid 4*s.* per annum for the right of fishing and fowling for twenty-one years.

The serges and woollen stuffs of the Walloons were shipped in the city, probably near the water-lock by Abbot's Mill.

There are several entries respecting the boats in the Stour. In 1688, these boats were said to be used by poachers, which doubtless was true. In 1693, the boats

were ordered to be suppressed. In 1788, Mr. Gribell's nets at Barton Mills were burnt by order of the court, the right to fish the river at his premises being denied.

Markets, Tolls, &c.

The freemen of Canterbury were free of tallage on their goods at the London quays. The city tolls, however, were oppressive, and the inhabitants on more than one occasion endeavoured to raise a sum of money to buy them of the authorities, and to throw the markets open.

These markets were held at various places, and changed from time to time. The Cattle Market, about the 22nd of Elizabeth, was kept in the streets without Saint George's, from the Nunnery Gate, St. Sepulchre's, through Rotherschepe to Saint Michael's Gate: that is, near the present locality of Bridge Street. The Rush Market, where rushes were sold, was held at the Red Well; a red pump as a sign on a house in Palace Street still indicates the locality. The demand for rushes arose from the almost universal practice of strewing them upon the floors of houses before the use of carpets became general. The finding of coin in gardens and waste places in the neighbourhood of houses is to be attributed to the circumstance that coin dropped upon the floors of dwellings was thus carried out when the rushes were removed.

A market cross was erected at the "Bull's-stake" in 1446, in place of an older one. Here the butchers used to bait the bulls. There was a cross at Oaten Hill, called then "Salt Hill," salt and oats being sold there; likewise a cross in Wincheap. There was a cross at the bottom of St. Margaret's Street, leading into Castle Street.

A market near the Church of St. Margaret is alluded to as early as 1480. In 1481, the tollager is allowed 10*s*. on account of the loss he sustained owing to the absence of certain fish women from Whitstable. This allowance was to last until their anger abated; at what they had taken offence we are not informed. There was a market at Wincheap, where wine was sold. A corn market, which existed near the "White Bear," was in 1709 ordered to be enlarged for the purpose of placing corn therein in bulk. There was also an Herb Market. A.D.

1521, fish shambles were rebuilt at a cost of 12*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* In 1491, the years' toll from the fishermen for standing shambles in Burgate amounted to 3*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* The taking of tolls at the markets and in the streets was always a subject of annoyance and contention. As early as 1665, a free trader, Mr. John Somner, moved a resolution in Burghmote, but without success, "That the markets on Wednesdays and Saturdays be free of tolls." At a later period the citizens offer the Corporation 420*l.* for free markets, but their wishes are not complied with. Fish however, at least in 1771, was sold free of toll. The tolls at the Bull's-stake, in 1791, were lowered as being excessive.

It is interesting to note the progress of civilization, and the tardy development of many branches of trades and professions in departments we should now deem indispensable. We are informed by an epitaph, once in the old Church of St. Andrew, "That Stephen White, citizen (who died A.D. 1592), was the first ironmonger that ever was dwelling in the city of Canterbury."

In the 23rd of Elizabeth, a market bell is purchased at the cost of 27*l.* 0*s.* 1½*d.*, a great sum, if for the bell only. One Francis Dale is appointed as ringer, at a salary of ten shillings per annum. Eight years later, an iron chain is placed across the street near the Bull's-stake, to prevent the passing of carriages and horses in market hours. 13 years later still (44th Elizabeth), the market cross is ordered to be pulled down, and the materials employed towards improvements in the same place. Perhaps this was not done, for there was a similar order A.D. 1645. The Corn Market, enlarged in 1709, was new built in 1735–6, and pulled down in 1788. Long previous to this, namely, in 1569, a number of posts seem to have been set up at the Bull's-stake Market, as selling places or divisions between the stalls where goods were disposed of. Thus the Corporation, in Elizabeth's reign, let to Thomas Pauleyn "five great posts upon the Queen's ground, belonging to the same city," for 5*s.* per annum.

Near the city is the manor of Chaldecote, which, with "the wood of Thorlehot," was bestowed upon the Prior and Monks of Christ Church by Archbishop Reynolds, as a convenient place for recreation after a period of heavy

duties and labour, and after the practice of "minutio sanguinis." This custom of opening a vein for the purpose of blood-letting, seemed frequently practised by the ecclesiastical orders, doubtless for their health's sake to evade corrupt humours, "contracted," as Somner quaintly observes, "by their unwholesome diet, feeding mostly upon fish or coarse fare." Polydore Vergil, however, insinuates that all this bleeding was a sort of deception, as though they shammed sick and were perpetually ill, to obtain a dispensation for the eating of flesh, and a relaxation from their rules of diet.

Tierne Crouch, or Iron Cross.

This cross stood at the bottom of Saint Margaret's Street, towards the Castle in the four cross ways. The drainage works of 1868, which in this locality laid open some extensive brick and stone work, doubtless came upon the foundations of this ancient structure. Here about was a tenement, which on the dissolution of Saint Augustine's Monastry was bestowed upon the city, with no less than ninety and more tenements and holdings which once belonged to the same great establishment.

Amongst these holdings were public houses, orchards, lands, sites of churches, and gardens.

The iron cross seems to have disappeared previous to the time of Somner, but that antiquary speaks of its existence as being within the memory of some of his contemporaries. It once gave a name to the locality, and the houses in its neighbourhood are described in ancient deeds as situated by it. These crosses, besides being objects erected to excite devotion, were used as market depositories, and provided with steps of stone on which vendors of provisions and marketable wares placed their goods.

The Old Inn in the "Mercerie," commonly called "Chaucer's Inn."

Here, undoubtedly, when the fame of Thomas Becket's saintship invited thousands of pilgrims from time to time to visit his shrine in the Cathedral, stood one of the principal inns or hostelries. Little is now left of the ancient building. The stone arches on the floor, level

with the street, forming the windows of a shop, yet remain, and once extended much further down Mercery Lane, but the great dormitory, called the "Hall of a Hundred Beds," with entrance from the High Street, was consumed a few years since by a fire, which burnt down four or five houses adjoining it.

We have no information when this building ceased to be an inn. It was extensive; and probably fell into disuse and decay soon after the Reformation, and was eventually divided into several tenements. In 1546, however, the "Prince's Players" performed in it before the Mayor and Corporation.

Chaucer describes his inn as the "Chequers upon the Hope,"* which is strongly confirmatory of the fact that our inn in the "Mercerie" was the identical one he describes in his "Pilgrimage."

It was celebrated in his time as an inn "that many a man doth know." It lay contiguous to the Cathedral, the approach to which extended probably part of the distance under a covered way; the projecting houses even now on each side approaching each other in their highest stories within a few feet. The inn was not then crowded by buildings, for Chaucer tells us of the garden attached to it. Into this place, when his monk and friar went out to visit a friend, and the knight and squire made a survey of the streets and houses of Canterbury, the "Wife of Bath," who might have had some previous knowledge of the place, takes "the Prioress by the hand," and leads her into the garden to spend a little time before they all go in to supper. The garden, if we take Chaucer's description, seems to have been well stocked with kitchen and medical herbs, the "alleys (paths, no doubt) were feir and paved." Selvage and hyssop were among the herbs; and as the other beds were to the comers a "sportful sight," they were, doubtless, full of the flowers of the season—roses, pinks, columbines, and sweet-williams, with no lack of "Canterbury bells."

The manner in which the pilgrims were received seemed somewhat after this fashion. A monk stood at

* What this meant is rather doubtful. There was an old sign in Canterbury called the "Cock upon the Hop," that is, upon "the hoop," the bird being painted standing on a hoop.

the church door, who sprinkled them from a "springall" with holy water as they entered. They then proceeded up the nave to the shrine, and having made their gifts, knelt down, and were permitted to kiss the holy relics. Thence they visited other shrines until the service was over. Before leaving the church they purchased "signs and tokens."

Chaucer, however, hints the pilgrims were not always outwardly devout or attentive, but would wander about the church "curiously spying" at all the objects in view, and then, whilst the knight and the more serious part of the devotees went at once to their prayers, the miller possessed himself of a whole "bosomfull of Canterbury tokens of Saint Thomas."

Chaucer describes the mode of wearing these tokens. "They sett their signs upon thier heddes, and some upon their capps."

The old inn, now a draper's shop, is still worthy of a visit. The cellars stood once on the original ground-floor underneath Mr. Skinner's establishment; they have a flat stone-arched roof. Here we perceive two wide stone entrances, one in Mercery Lane, the other in the High Street. The present level of the thoroughfares without has risen eight feet. A subterraneous passage leads from the lower part of the inn nearly parallel to Mercery Lane, and a strongly-built archway, lying west, and about six feet wide, with a ground level of at least ten feet below the street, might have led to the cellar or store of the establishment. The stonework here is very old. The dormitory once lay two or three stories above this spot, and was entered from a gallery; it perhaps formed a sort of quadrangle. The inn extended a considerable distance both down High Street and Mercery Lane. At the back of the houses, which stood on part of its site in High Street, and which were destroyed by fire, several small Roman objects of antiquarian interest were exhumed when clearing away the ruins for the workmen to rebuild.

King John and the Jews at Canterbury.

King John possessed a certain sort of popularity among the lower orders of his subjects, and held in the songs, ballads, and legends of this country a more favourable position than he did in any other records. No man was fonder of jests and revelry; and continually wandering up and down his dominions during the whole of his disgraceful reign, it is possible that he may have become popular among a class whose sense of humour was not the most refined, and whose appreciation of character, in a King at least, was not the most correct. In him posterity has recognised both a bad man and a bad King; but the Commonalty of olden times was not fastidious, and King John could not always avoid making mirth and amusement for the bystanders, when he sought recreation in practical jokes and in low buffoonery.

This Monarch was occasionally at Canterbury, and in its immediate neighbourhood. From this city he proceeded to Dover on his disgraceful mission to resign the Crown of England to Pandulph, the Pope's Legate. According to the "Itinerary" published of his journeys, he appears to have proceeded in a dilatory and tortuous manner in his royal road to degradation. From Canterbury he departed, on the 6th May, 1213, to Ewell, a hamlet situated about three miles from Dover. Here he remained a short time, and on the seventh day went to Dover, returning to Ewell the same night. As the Knights Templars had a house in this neighbourhood, he probably took up his quarters with them, abiding there twelve days; thence he went to Wingham, about ten miles across the country, in a somewhat retrograde direction; then again back to Dover; thence again to Wingham; and then, avoiding Canterbury, his degradation being consummated, he passed on to Chilham Castle. The next day he went to Ospringe; thence to Rochester; then back again to Chilham; thence to Battle—these peregrinations occupying him about thirty-nine days. The delay at Ewell after his submission to the Pope was no doubt occasioned by his waiting for his sceptre, which Pandulph is said to have withheld from him for five days. The charter delivered to Pandulph

was sealed on the 15th May, containing the homage of the King to the Pope.

A.D. 1213, 3rd October, John resigned his crown to the Pope's Legate at Westminster, securing it back again as a donation.

King John addressed many special communications to his "good City of Canterbury," and honoured it by levying sundry exactions upon its inhabitants. A.D. 1205, he gives a mill at Canterbury "to his beloved Clerk, Master Peter de Inglesham." A.D. 1212, he demands of the "Bailiffs and good men of Canterbury, if they well love him, eighty men armed of the best men of Canterbury, to be sent to him at Westminster." A.D. 1215, he demands a supply of pick-axes, "as many as possible, to be sent without delay to Rochester, and that all the smiths of the city be taken off all other work whatsoever" to expedite the supply. He takes away certain houses belonging to the Jews at Canterbury, and among others he presents to William de Warren, Earl of Surrey, the house in the Jewry, London, belonging to Benedict, the little Jew, and to Isaac, his brother, at Canterbury.

John, it is well known, considered the Jews of England to be his special property; and although he at times protected them against the incroachments of others—naively observing in reference to this people in one of his proclamations, "that if it were a dog, and he had taken him under his protection, he would defend him"—he never spared them when his own interests were concerned. He would give away their houses and chattels with impunity, sometimes to the most unworthy favourites, in liquidation of a gambling debt, or as a reward for an after-dinner jest. Sometimes one Jew was robbed for the advantage of another; thus, upon "Abram, the crossbowman, he bestowed the house of one Isaac, son of Jacob, and Bona, his wife, at Canterbury."

The Jews are said to have formed part of the population of England even in Anglo-Saxon times. They are alluded to in a charter of Witglaff, King of Mercia, A.D. 833, as holding possessions in England, and in the "Canonical Excerptions," published by Egbright, Archbishop of York, A.D. 740. Christians were forbidden to be present at Jewish feasts.

Our venerable antiquary, William Somner, believed that the Jews made a practice of crucifying every Christian child they could get at about Christmas. This was a very ancient and widely credited opinion, and fostered doubtless as a colour for persecution and exaction.

The great risks which the Jews incurred as money-lenders in the middle ages, and the uncertainty of the securities which they held against their debtors, who were not only their lawmakers but their oppressors, no doubt confirmed their practices, where possible, in usury and extortion. The Jews at Canterbury were probably not more liberal than their brethren elsewhere; and the material cross Somner alluded to was a figurative one with Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, who in a letter to his friend, the Bishop of Ely, complains "of being dragged to Canterbury to be crucified by the perfidious Jews, among their other debtors," and begs him to interfere in his defence, beseeching him "to become bound for him to Sampson, the Jew, for six pounds, and thereby to deliver him from that cross."

This long oppressed and, at one period, everywhere persecuted people, were formerly settled in this city in considerable numbers. The locality of Jewry Lane points out the district where many of them abided.

On a threatened invasion of England by Philip Augustus, A.D. 1207, King of France, unpopular as King John was, and stained with many crimes, the whole of England rose as a man to resist the foreign foe. The men of Canterbury joined the forces in considerable numbers, and when John reviewed his army on Barham Downs he had more than 60,000 men assembled—knights, crossbowmen, archers, all crowded to his banner.

King John, and Isabella his wife, were crowned in the Cathedral at Canterbury by the Archbishop Hubert, A.D. May 25th, 1201.* This was the third time King John had been crowned: first in 1199, at Westminster, with his wife Alice; then being divorced from Alice in 1200, he was crowned at Westminster with Isabella; then again with Isabella, as above.

* N. de H.—2, 160.

Incidents.

It was in 1380 that the Princess of Wales, wife of the Black Prince, returning from Canterbury, whither she had been to visit her husband's tomb, and pay her devotions to St. Thomas, encountered the rebels under Wat Tyler. They treated her, says Dr. Hook, with a rough gallantry. One or two demanded a kiss of the "fair Maid of Kent," and it is said she good humouredly paid the required ransom.

Tournament at Canterbury.

A.D. 1347, Edward III. held a tournament at Canterbury. Thomas de Grey, of Codmere, received on this occasion from the hands of the King a hood of white cloth embroidered with "blue men dancing," buttoned before with great pearls. He received also, for divers military exercises, certain accoutrements of Indian silk, whereon the arms of Sir Stephen de Cossington were painted.*

The King appeared at a tournament† at Canterbury A.D. 1349, with a white swan for his device, and the following motto on his shield—"Hay, Hay, the white swan, by Gode's soul I am thy man."

The Dane John, or Dungeon Mound and Field.

There are several entries in the Records in respect of the above locality. It appears to have been the property of the citizens from time immemorial. Here they shot at the butts with arrows, and here at a later period they practised at the target with "blundering musquets," culverins, and other fire-arms.

Much speculation has been hazarded respecting the origin of the Mound, and some antiquaries have con-

* H., p. 129. † Craig, vol. 1, p. 187.

sidered it to be an erection analogous to Silbery Hill, and other tumuli, coeval perhaps with the ritual of the Sabean or Druidical form of worship.

Dugdale* informs us that Dungeon means a strong tower or platform upon a high mound of earth, artificially raised. Speaking of a mound at Warwick, he says, the place had been destroyed by the Danes, but Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, repaired it, and called it "the Daungeon." This name, at least in Saxon times, seems doubtful; it is certainly Norman.

The name assigned to the Mound is variously written—"Totam terram nostram quam habuimus ad Dangonem," Danzonem; also, "in campo qui vocatur Dangun," in a deed, 14th Edward I.; likewise "juxta le Daungeon," as also in old rentals of the Cathedral; and Roger Brent in his will, dated 1486, mentioning his manor there, calls it so, and the hill hard by "Dungeon Hill." The common and prevalent impression is that the name is a derivative as if of the Danes, "Danes' work," being the production of these marauders in some attack upon the city.† But its propinquity to the Castle, and its similarity to the Donjon Mounds commonly erected near the stone castles of the Norman proprietors, appear to suggest both its origin and its denomination. Leland, who wrote his *Itinerary* in the time of Henry VIII., informs us that many years previous to his time, men seeking for treasure "at a place cauled the Dungen, where Barnhale's house is now, and ther yn digging thei found a corse closed in lead." On the Mound, we are also informed, an ancient Windmill once stood. There were anciently two mounds, to say nothing of several mounds or eminencies which once lay in the direction of the buildings of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. The principal mound, the only one now remaining, was once covered with oaks, which in the time of Queen Elizabeth a certain Hugh Johns was permitted to cut down, "provided he plant twenty ashes or elms, and keep them to grow."‡

* Warwickshire, p. 298.

† Although the term "Dane John" is of comparatively recent origin, being unknown in Somner's time, it is worthy of remark that the Danes did erect earth mounds as one mode af attacking fortified places.

‡ City records.

From time to time, however, the right of the citizens to take pastime and recreation in this ground appears to have been a subject of dispute, and the Dungeon Field, styled more modernly "The Dane John," was a source of contention between them and the parties to whom the Corporation let or leased the manor. Thus, William Pennington cut a deep dike between the mound and the Ridingate, to prevent the ingress of the citizens into their accustomed place of recreation. Pennington was a man of some influence, and for a time set the commonalty at defiance. He belonged to one of the factions of the Roses; but no sooner had the battle of Northampton given a temporary ascendency to the partizans of Edward IV., than "the said William Pennington," according to the deposition of a witness upon a trial, was summarily beheaded nigh unto the said ground, "owing to the great grudge which the city had against him." Sharp practice this, and savouring not a little of lynch law.

The Maypole was annually in former times set up in the Dane John. It was removed A.D. 1588. Long previous to this time, there is mention made of a hall being built, A.D. 1521, "against," that is, for, the coming of the King's Commissioners. 35th Henry VIII., the Black Dike, skirting the present Dane John grounds, was made by the Corporation a certain official hole or pit, into which the refuse of the city was ordered to be cast.

Adjoining this spot, that is, in the parish of St. Mary de Castro, there was a parcel of ground called the "Hermitage." There was an hermitage also in the old church of Northgate.

By an entry in the city Records, A.D. 20 August, 1446, the land called the "Hermitage, with a part of the Great Dungeon Land, was consigned by a William Benet to John Lynde and others."

The Dane John Mound has always been a subject of interest to strangers, as well as to the citizens. I have endeavoured to obtain all the information I could respecting both its ancient and its modern history. Of its ancient history, no precise period can be fixed when it first came into existence. Various theories might be hazarded: that it was part of a series of other ancient

mounds contiguous to it, and connected with a very early period of our history; that it was erected during one of those ruthless invasions of the Danes and Northmen, either by them in their operations against the people of Canterbury, or by the people of Canterbury in their defence against the Danes; that it originated in later times, and was thrown up in connection with the Castle as a sort of look-out place, a Donjon Mound, in fact, an erection which has examples in the mounds at Cambridge and at Oxford, at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, and in some other places; or that it might have been the accumulation of soil thrown out when the city foss was dug. This excavation is very much wider to this day close by the mound, than at any other part of the circuit of the city.

In the city Records, a few notices from time to time occur, which, unconsecutive as they are, give some details respecting the mound and the grounds surrounding it. Thus, in the 37th of Henry VIII., we learn "That Mr. Sergeant Hales and his heirs were released of a rent of 3*s*. going (arising) out of the Dungeon Hills except the city and their successors, free egress and regress in the said hills, upon condition that the city have all those lands and tenements which the said Sergeant Hales purchased of — Smith, yielding 20*s*. to the said Sergeant Hales and his heirs." This affair does not seem very clear. Again, some years previous, that is, in 1509, John Westchyne, Mayor of Sandwich, and William Wood, aged 70 years, declare they have known the Dungeon Hills for many years as a common sporting place for all who chose to repair there. Also that there was a cartway across the same, until it was inclosed by one Butler.

A.D. 1663, the Mayor and Commonalty demised to "John Fry, gentleman, the ground called 'Dunge Hill'" (Dane John), excepting liberty for the Mayor, Commonalty, and freemen to exercise the art of shooting, as well with the long bow as with musquets and culverins, at marks, and to use all other games and pastimes. In 1687, there was a fair held at the "Dungeon," and an order made that the ground should not be levelled. From this we may assume that there were almost always persons in Canterbury, who, upon the plea of modern improve-

ment, were ever ready to destroy the antiquities of the city.

In both these extracts, we notice the words Dungeon Hills, as if the grounds extended across Watling Street to the lower mound which stood once in Gravel Lane, or it might include the mound on the Martyr's Field. One thing is certain, the citizens always strenuously contended for their rights to the Dane John grounds, even to the hanging of John Pennington; whilst the Corporation were for ever striving, but ultimately unsuccessfully, to claim the grounds as disposable property, or to get hold of part of them, and to let or lease them out to divers persons. There seemed to be a jarring and confused notion of proprietorship respecting the Dane John. Thus, Sergeant Hales, — Smith, and the man Butler who stopped the cartway, had, it appears, a partial occupation of the grounds, or a portion of them to the exclusion of the citizens.

The above-mentioned John Westchyne, Mayor of Sandwich, in a legal dispute between the city and John Botder, further declares, "That such time as one Roger Brent was possessed of the manor of the Dungeon Hills with the lands thereunto belonging and appertaining, I, the said John, was *cormorant*,* and still with him in his said house daily for three quarters of a year, all which time the said Daungeon Hills were a common sporting place for all such as would there repair, and a common cartway lying between the hills aforesaid."

A.D. 1643, the Dane John Mound presented a warlike appearance. It was planted with ordnance, and watched night and day by housekeepers. The guns, however, were shortly afterwards dismounted.

We know there was a lesser mound. It was called the "Little Dunghill," and stood near the Terrace and the present Gravel Lane, almost on a line dividing the parishes of St. George and Saint Mary Bredin. From an abstract of an ancient deed, dated 6th December, 1757, in the possession of Mr. Fryer, the present owner of the property, I find it was situated adjoining the house of a Mr. Tassell. It is alluded to afterwards in 1782, as being

* We may here note the curious application of the word "Cormorant" in the above.

on the property of Mr. William Long, one of the Aldermen of the city. The house, now No. 21, in Saint George's Terrace, is in the parish of Saint Mary Bredin. The house adjoining, No. 20, is in Saint George's parish. The mound stood on the site of these *two* houses, next to a lane called Sheepshank Lane, now Gravel Lane, extending to the brick wall next to the wall of the city. Mention is made in the said deed of there being a messuage upon it. We have no account when this lesser mound was levelled, probably, however, it was demolished when the houses above alluded to were built; nor are we sure it was in existence at the date of the deed.

It is a significant circumstance, however, in respect of this mound, the lesser mound, standing so closely as it did to the city wall, and probably included within the circuit of the Roman city, that it might have been the remains of an ancient Canterbury, defended by earthworks rather than erections of masonry.

But to return to the greater mound, and to the Dane John. In a portion of the latter was the "Black Dike," abutting almost on the precincts of the Church of St. Mary de Castro.

Charles II., A.D. 1684, in his charter of this date, directs a fair or market for cattle, with a court of "Pye Powder" (pied poudrè),* to be held annually on the first of March on "Le Dane John Field."

Over its modern history I can throw more light.

The Dane John ground appears, nearly up to the close of the last century, to have been a spot neglected and almost waste. According to a survey made 18th January, 1800, "it was found to be a ruinous and *distructed* situation" (*sic*), and was recommended to be let to some person for a short time, under certain conditions. It was common property in fact, with a disputed title. It was rugged and uneven; it had to be levelled, perhaps thereby indicating the remains of lesser mounds and earthworks.

At the close of the last century, James Simmonds, an alderman, banker, and for some few years M.P. for the city, obtained a grant of the mound and grounds from

* "Dusty foot," from the supposed condition of the shoes of the suitors and others coming from the country places.

the Mayor and Corporation for the term of his life, and subject to certain conditions respecting the rights of the citizens. On the 12th January, 1802, however, as recorded in the Burghmote book, Alderman Simmonds resigns all claims upon the Dane John Field, and surrenders his lease to the Corporation. An extract from his "Remonstrance," for so it may be called, will explain the reasons which induced him to take this step, and at the same time will give an history of the Dane John Field at this period.

Alderman Simmonds writes in an injured tone, and in a grandiloquent style:—The Corporation having accepted the surrender, resolve henceforth to devote the Dane John Field to the recreation and amusement of the inhabitants, provided the latter are willing, by subscriptions or otherwise, to keep the grounds in order, and conserve the recent improvements.

Alderman Simmonds' remonstrance is as follows:—"That he had laid out 1,500*l.* in improving and beautifying the grounds and buildings; had erected a brickway to support the Terrace that leads to the Ridingate, and paid Mr. Marseille (who had a garden close by) 30*l.* per annum, to keep the grounds in order, besides *allowing him the grass.*" The Alderman then adds:—"When I first solicited the Court of Burghmote to permit me to alter the form of the Dane John Field, I had no other intention than, after having made that alteration, to have surrendered it again to the court in such a state as I conceived they would think most improved from that in which I found it, and in which rude and irregular shape it had lain beyond the *memory of man, and at many parts of the year inaccessible to the public.* The possible improvements of the ground, the various beauties of which there was so great a capability throughout the field, and the pleasure likely to result to all the inhabitants of my native city from this undertaking, led me into a much greater expense than I had at first proposed. For this expense I have felt myself amply repaid by the universal satisfaction expressed by my fellow citizens, and by the repeated thanks by which I have been gratified by all ranks of people. Indeed, they have done me the honour to say 'the Dane John Field has become a

public ornament to the city, *conducive to the pleasure and health of all the inhabitants.* To this place travellers and strangers resort as to a public spectacle, and, *astonished* at the singular beauties of the hill, the banks, and the plantations, have all of them declared that no city in the kingdom has within its walls any public walk or place of recreation to be compared with this."'

The Alderman then goes on to say why he had solicited this grant of public ground during his life time, that he might beautify and improve it; and "that having expended more than 1,500*l.* in transforming a rude and irregular piece of ground into a beautiful promenade, and supporting the same at an expense of 40*l.* a year, he is placed in a list of defaulters with his *poor* neighbours by the court of guardians, and summoned before the justices for the non-payment of a poor rate of eight pounds per annum! When I saw the summons," continues the Alderman, "I exclaimed, 'Gracious Heavens! what a return is this!" It was, we must own, hard and short sighted on the part of the guardians; if they had legal power to waive making the assessment, which possibly might have been done could it have been shown that no profit was derived from the grounds, especially as it was a place for public recreation.

Amongst the trees then planted on the Dane John, poplar trees seem to have constituted the avenue. They must have flourished too, for twelve years later, every alternate tree, then valued at forty shillings per tree, was ordered to be cut down. All the poplars, save one or two only, have long since disappeared.

This place of public recreation, thus abandoned by Alderman Simmonds, the public erecting on the mound an ungraceful pillar to his memory, soon again became a waste—unkempt, untrimmed, if not uncared for, until some years later the Corporation did what they should have done long before, took it entirely under their charge, and appointed a ranger and assistants. Its present annual cost is now from 180*l.* to 200*l.* per annum.

The Canterbury fair was kept in the Dane John for some years after Alderman Simmonds had relinquished his wardship over it. By an order of Burghmote, dated

2nd September, 1814, it was enjoined during the fair time, "that no damage be done to the walks, slopes, and fences."

In July, 1812, the iron fence on the wall leading to the Ridingate was erected. The city tower on the Dane John next to the Ridingate was removed in 1769. The gardener's cottage was erected by Alderman Simmonds in 1812. It was supplanted by a more commodious building in 1877.

Butts were anciently erected for the pullers of the long bow—some of England's best defenders. Butts were also used in Broad Street along the city walls without. A.D. 1580, a mark or target was painted, and set up for "culver" shot to fire at.

Somner describes the Dane John Mound as originally entrenched, and, when first cast up, as lying outside the city. If this be a correct notion, it would be a fatal objection to the theory entertained by some antiquaries that the wall outside the mound was a part of the circuit of Roman Canterbury.

At the close of the 17th century, the Dane John was used as a place for military executions. From entries in the book of the parish clerk of St. George, kindly communicated by the rector, we learn:—"9 November, being All Saint's in the year 1694, a solddyer in the regt. of Col. Coote was shott to death on the furthur Dane John, the day above written, and buried in the chapel yard in common ground." Again, July 9, 1696, "A soulger in Col. Tittcome's regt. was shot for desertion, and in the *nether* Dane John, and buried at the same place *where he was shot.*"

Guilds and Fraternities, &c.

Burgher-Guilds existed in Canterbury in Anglo-Saxon times. There are numerous decrees in the Court of Burghmote for the institution and regulation of guilds. Their origin dates back to a remote period. An ancient deed in Anselm's time records an exchange of tenements in Canterbury, made between the family (Prior and Monks) of Christ Church and the Knights at Canterbury of the Guild of Merchants.

In the 15th century the various trades and professions became generally incorporated, and many old fraternities were revived, and new statutes prescribed for them. The barbers, surgeons, and physicians were incorporated 13th Henry VII., 1498. This guild was reconstructed, A.D. 1544, when the physicians were excluded. In the older document, "Master Stephen Faye, doctor of physic, Master Pasca, physician, Robt. Dine, and Wm. Inglish, with others, the whole companie of the whole crafte and mystery of physicians, surgeons, and barbers are instantly required, and with most effectual labour desired, to have good rules and orders within their craft and mystery." The ordinance then prescribes the regulations:—First, relating to the appointment of a warden and beadle; secondly, desiring that no one belonging to the said crafte of physicians, surgeons, and barbers shall *not* shave *no* man on a Sunday upon pain of forfeiting 6*s.* 8*d.* The members are called "Brothers"; "Sisters," however, appear to have been admitted to this guild, but in what capacity does not appear. Orders were made intrusting to midwives the keys of certain gates and posterns, that they might have egress and ingress of a night; all other parties being strictly prohibited from using the same.

The classification of apothecaries, as professors of

the healing art, somewhat perplexed our forefathers. They seemed to have considered them as a sort of supplementary genus, which those engaged in arranging the natural history of professions did not know how to place. Accordingly, as late as A.D. 1690, apothecaries, grocers, chandlers, and fishmongers are all lumped together in one fraternity; and thus united, they address the Burghmote in a most ungallant petition against the ladies, the prayer of which thus concludes:—

"That your petitioners sett at great rents in their houses, and pay taxes to their Majesties (William and Mary), the minister, church and poor, respectively, and undergo all troublesome offices, as Borsholders, Constables, Churchwardens, and Overseers of the Poor, which women are not taxable to do; and if women be suffered to interlope into the trades of the petitioners, the same will tend to their ruin and undoing. No man will never put his son to be an apprentice to your petitioners, when any woman may set up in trade."

Reverting to the guild of barbers and surgeons as reconstituted A.D. 1544, we find it ordained "that no manner of forener, whatsoever he be, from henceforth shall come into the seid citie with any pott, basen, knyf, or shavyng cloth, or any other thyng belonging to the seid crafte or mystery, to the intent to shave any man, or otherwise to trym any berd, except he be free of the said crafte or mystery in the seid citie, upon payne to forfyt for every tyme doing the contrary, 3*s*. 4*d*." A prohibition then follows against "any Brother washyng or shavying any berd, or polling any head, or otherwise trymming any berd, except at fower Sundays in the time of harvest (the said fower Sundays to be appointed by the Master and Wardens), or except it be at tymes of necessite for sum grete man, or for Maister Maier, or any of his brethren, upon payne to forfeit for every default 3*s*. 4*d*. It is further ordered that no person of the "seid crafte shall not take no less for polling a hed than 1*d*., and shall not poll any hed, nor trym a berd under the price of 2*d*.; and if it shall fortune any of the seid crafte and mystery to shave any man for the quarter, then if he be a temporal man he shall pay for the shaving 6*d*., and if a spiritual, then 8*d*.," &c., &c.

We might note in passing the eccentricities in spelling in these extracts; varieties occurring often in the same document. The use of two negatives also, not to make

a positive, but to confirm the negative, as in the ancient Greek, and some other languages, has a higher authority than that of these poor Corporation scribes; and, from examples in Shakespeare and other writers, it was not considered as a violation of grammatical rule.

Among the guilds and fraternities were the Hackney men, whose business was the letting out of horses; and various ordinances were at an early period adopted for the regulation, not only of the charges for mileage and stated journeys out of the city, but a tariff was enacted at what price a smith should furnish them with a nail or a horse shoe. The prescription of stated prices held good with almost every article—a rule in itself as useless as it is pernicious.

These restrictions on trade, however, prevailed generally throughout the country from an early period down to the eighteenth century. The towns early possessed certain franchises, and the Burgess or Citizen was comparatively free from the services of the great landowners; he exchanged his servitude for one much less oppressive, but he had nevertheless as a member of a guild or fraternity to suffer many absurd and vexatious exactions. He must, in the first place, acquire his freedom, which he could only do by birth, by purchase, or by marriage with a freeman's daughter—without such privilege he could carry on no trade or calling. Then it was necessary that he should attach himself to the fraternity or guild of the craft or mystery which he wished to practise. Thereupon he was liable for various services, and for payments to wardens and other officers; whilst great demands were constantly made upon his time, he being subject to certain fines unless he attended the meetings of his fraternity to celebrate particular natal and ferial days in the appointed church or monastery; whilst the marriages and funerals of his associates were all occasions for ceremonies and processions, which it was incumbent on him to attend.

The bowyers ought to have been a conspicuous guild in Canterbury.

A.D. 1363 (Edward III.), writs for a supply of archers were issued. In one of these the King calls on all his subjects to leave "all dishonest sports, such as foot-

ball, quoits, throwing the stone, diceing, cock-fighting, and the like," for which they had neglected the art of archery, before his time commonly exercised.

A.D. 1511, every village was ordered by Act of Parliament to provide a "pair of buttes," and no person above 24 years of age was permitted to shoot with a "light flight arrow" under 220 yards. Up to 220 yards, the "heavy war arrow" was used; and this was the effective fighting range of old English archery.

"In the time of Henry VIII. each bow stave was ordered to be three inches thick, squared, and seven feet long, got up well polished and without knots."* Crossbows and hand guns were prohibited.

About A.D. 1680, joiners, carpenters, carvers, masons, bricklayers, coopers, turners, glaziers, and painters were incorporated into one fraternity.

The Brewers and Bakers.

The bakers being divided into bakers of white bread, and bakers of black bread, neither being permitted to interfere with the occupation of the other, had their fraternities. To these we may add the smiths and armourers, innholders, saddlers, pointmakers, whittawers,† jerkmakers, collarmakers, cobblers, woollen drapers, taylors, mercers, linen drapers, cappers, girdlers, silk wire sellers, minstrels, &c.

The Guild of Shoemakers, &c.

By a decree of Burghmote, A.D. 1518, it was enjoined, "that every brother shoemaker, cobbeler, or corner, that will sett up and occupy as a maister within the said citie and libertye of the same, shall pay to the wardeyns of the seide crafte, or ever he sett up and occupy, 3*s.* 4*d.* to the maintenance of the aforeseide brotherende, upon payne of forfeiture of 6 lbs. of wax." The fraternity were ordered, "to come to Saint Augustine on the Feast of the Assumption, and of Saint Crispin and Crispinus, and there make their solemn offering at the mass, upon pain of forfeiture

* Froude.

† Whittawers, fusarers, or fusters—saddle-tree makers.—*Survey of London*, A.D. 1735.

of 2 lbs. of wax." Also, "That if any of the seide fraternitie, dwelling in the liberties of the seide citie, intende to be married, then he shall give knowledge of hit to the wardeyns of the seide fraternyte three daies before the marriage, and then the seide wardens to give a commandment to the bedill of the same fraternite to name the brethren in due time to go with him from his dwelling-place unto the parisshe church where the matrimony shall be solemnised, and to offer with him."

Power is given to the warden to make visits to the brethren, and if he find any of them have more workmen being "aliants" than workmen being "Englissmen," he is to fill up any vacancy that may occur by setting an Englissman to work; and if the master have an equal number of "aliants" and "Englissmen" at work, and have an odd man, that same odd man must be an "Englissman."

The death and burial of a brother likewise caused the warning of the fraternity. "Upon the next ferial day after his burial, there was enjoined a 'dirige' of the Austen Friars"; the next day a mass of requiem, the wardens to be present, and to offer each of them 1*d.*, upon pain of forfeiture of 2 lbs. of wax. The same ordinance further enacts, "That the bedill shall see that the dedde body of every brother have four torches to bring him to the grave, and four tapers to be lighted or borne about his corpse or herse if his body be in the church in the time of dirige or mass, except there be two corpses in one day, when the seide torches and tapers are to be equally divided between them, upon pain of forfeiting 2 lbs. of wax, to be levied and divided in form aforesaid."

This was a more imposing ceremonial than many a poor shoemaker can hope for in the present day. The contributions required for these occasions must have pressed heavily upon indigent brethren in the guild.

Regulations were made, however, for the good behaviour and order of this guild; and it was ordained, "That at quarter day, if any of them utter obpropious words, or words of disclaunder eiche to other, or to their wardens," they are to forfeit 2 lbs. of wax. "They are also enjoyned to hold their wardens in good honour

and manner of speaking to them without fasyng and brasyng."

There was an ancient play house over the Bull's Stake (Butter Market). It was ordered to be taken down in 1787. A.D. 1612, an escutcheon of large size was ordered to be made for the city musicians, to be borne by the "chiefest of them;" but in 1640, the privilege was taken away, and the band for a time broken up on account of "disorders" arising in the streets. The players also, about ten years previous, were forbidden to play on account of "disorders" and "night stalking." Money, however, was given them as a compensation.

We are unable to determine the precise date at which these fraternities were first incorporated, but ordinances and rules were prescribed for many of them at the end of the sixteenth century. We must content ourselves with a few particulars concerning the minstrel. The profession of minstrel, which among the Celtic and Teutonic nations was synonymous with that of poet, sometimes with that of priest or prophet, was lowered in comparatively modern times to the occupation of men who, disjoining the composition of song from the practice of their profession, were nothing more than singers or performers on musical instruments. These instruments were pipes, bag-pipes, tambourines, guitars, tabors, drums, and trumpets. Chaucer alludes to the "rote, harp, lute, gitene, organ, and ribible."

In the reign of Edward II., the profession had become so abased by being adopted by worthless and idle persons, who assumed the profession and garb of minstrels, and travelled about the country in bands, sometimes under the title of the "King's Minstrels," demanding, with insolence and authority, fees and gratuities of the public, that it became necessary to check the abuse by special enactments and proclamations.

Restrictive measures were also adopted by Edward IV., although he is said to have revived the ancient order of minstrels by incorporation, by giving them for better governance, a marshall and two wardens. Sisters were admitted to the guild, and we may doubtless trace in their appearance the revival of the glee maidens of

Anglo-Saxon times. The minstrel's glory, however, was gone. Unlike bard or scald, he occupied no position whence effectively to appeal to the heroic actions of the past—to arouse noble and elevated thoughts, or to awaken such feelings and aspirations as the highest order of poetry never fails to do. Other sources of enthusiasm undoubtedly existed, but the incorporated minstrel with his pipe, ribible, horn, or drum, playing "from benches or barrel heads, to boys and country fellows," no more represented a Taliesin or a Modred, than the ballad singers of our streets do the Rhapsodists of Greece.

The Privy Council, on the 27th June, 1557, wrote a letter to John Fuller, Mayor of Canterbury, thanking him for his diligence "in the apprehending and committing of the players to warde, whom they are willed to keep, untill they shall receive orders from home, and in the meantime their lewde play boke is committed to the consideration of the King and Queene's Majesty's learned counsell, who are willed to declare what the same waieth unto in law, whereupon they shall receive further order touching the said players."

August 11th, 1557, the Mayor and the Aldermen of Canterbury are ordered to proceed against the said players "touching the same lewde playe."

We find in Canterbury, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., an account of a guild called the "Fellowship of Waits and Minstrels," some of the regulations concerning which were as follows:—Ordered, "That all waits and minstrels that noo doo inhabyte, or hereafter shall inhabyte, in the seyd cytye or the suburbes of the same citie, shall be one felowshyp, and called by the name of the crafte and mystery of 'mynstrells,' and so shall continue for henceforth for ev'." It goes on to prohibit any minstrel from joining with any foreign minstrel for the purposes of his art, and "for any fremane usyng or practysyng the seid crafte or mystery of minstrells, to take any may-game, garland, chyldale, or wedding, out of any other freman's hand, uppon payne to forfett, for every suche default, 3*s.* 4*d.*; nor to any four minstrells to take any suche weddyngs, dedycacons, may-games, or garlands, from

any freeman usyng or practysyng the seid crafte or mystery, within the seid citie, upon payne to forfett, for every such default, 6*s.* 8*d.*; nor to any such persons, &c., to play upon any instrument of a Sonday in time of masse or evensong, in any inne, taverne, or any other place, except it be at a weddyng, or a place where he is hyred, or at the commandement of Mr. Maier of this citie for the time beyg, or any worshippfull man; and also, except it be a freeman sitting at his owne home to tune hys instrument, or a foren mynstrell sitting at his ost's, tunyng his instrument, uppon payne to forfett for evy tyme doyng the contrary, 3*s.* 4*d.*" Also, "That if any of the said crafte or mystery, at any time hereafter, in sport or in malice, doo call one another 'knave,' or any other vyle words, then every personne, &c., shall forfett for every time he so offend, 12*d.*" In the reign of Elizabeth this fraternity was permitted to bear a scutcheon of arms. During the period of the Commonwealth, the guilds were broken up or remained in abeyance, but were revived in the reigns of subsequent Sovereigns. Although the Guild of Minstrels in Canterbury has long been defunct, there has ever been exhibited in this city in the cultivation of music a taste, ardour, and excellence unequalled by any other community in the county, perhaps the kingdom at large.

Very restrictive too were some of the ordinances of these guilds. After noticing (A.D. 1488), "that many simple and evil-disposed persons (we have modernised the style) of the same city, as well as Scotch, Irish, and others, which in no wise will apply themselves to any labour or to lawful occupations, but only they live upon the sale and 'brokestry' of the said bread, beer, and ale, and for that they have resorting to them many vagabonds and evil-disposed persons," wherefore it is resolved, that no man nor woman, inhabitants within this city, liberty, and franchise of the same, shall sell bread, ale, or beer, or any of it to retail of foreign baker or brewer, but only of bakers or brewers inhabitants of this city." A penalty then is prescribed for default, being imprisonment or fine, at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen.

By an order of the court, A.D. 1505, the following

assize of beer is fixed:—The common brewers of this city of ale and beer shall sufficiently "vitell the seid cite" with good and sufficient ale and beer at all times—every gallon of ale at the tun for 1*d.*; every "bonne" of double beer, containing 36 gallons, for 3*s.*; every bonne of single beer, containing the same measure, 2*s.*

A.D. 1506, 21 Henry VII., the smiths and armourers have prices prescribed for their work and labour. "The shoying of a courser or bere cart horse is to be 12*d.* That every of the seide craft have a marke upon the seide horseshoys. That all such smythes who sho wheles have for a lib. 1*s.* 9*d.*; for a pound of black work, that is to say, as barris (bars) under the brewers' leds, and such other bouster work, 1*s.* Also for citches, laches, porters, and 'hey-go-days,' 11*d.* the lb.; for all square iron, that is, white tynned, the lib. 1*d.* The smith then is ordered to charge for a stock lock key no more than 2*d.*; for a holowe keye for a doore, 3*d.*; for squaring a horse-mill spyndell, 16*d.*; a water-mill spyndell, 3*s.* The price of nails (hand wrought, of course) for a 1000 2d. is 18*d.*; for 1000 fourpenny nailes is 4*s.* 8*d.*"

The various guilds and fraternities of Canterbury continued in force until the middle of the eighteenth century. Their termination was sudden and undignified.

Thomas Roch, A.D. 1745, a cabinet-maker, native of Wales, but born in Dublin, having settled at Canterbury, and purchased his freedom, was immediately afterward called upon by the "builders," to which fraternity he was considered as bound to attach himself, to pay to the master and wardens the sum of 4*l.* for dues and fees. Roch at first resisted, but after a time paid the demand. Objecting, however, to the manner in which this sum and other monies similarly obtained were spent, and having likewise a strong suspicion that the demands made were not only unjust but illegal, pressing as they did with peculiar severity upon young tradesmen just entering into business—and other exactions having been made upon him, such as a payment per head for each workman he employed—he determined to resist the impost. Upon his refusal to pay, a process, followed by a declaration, extending to 192 sheets, for a sum of

1*l.* 4*s.*, was served upon him. His request to inspect the charter and bye-laws not being complied with, he had to move the Court of King's Bench to obtain a sight of the same. Herein was found no authority for the exactions that had been oppressively levied for a long series of years. Several of the Aldermen being masters of fraternities, the Corporation lent their utmost authority to the prosecution of the demands against Roch. Failing in their attempt to adjudicate in their own local court, the prosecutors carried the case first to the assizes at Rochester, then before Lord Mansfield at Maidstone. Here, A.D. 1758, the plaintiffs, who declined to produce their sham charter, were summarily non-suited. The decision caused the general break up of the guilds and fraternities, although some of them lingered on a few years longer. The principle, however, was established by the courageous resistance of one man, that compulsory contributions to them were illegal, and that for a long series of years the great mass of the freemen had been most unjustly taxed for the benefit of a few interested officials.

The fraternities, before their discomfiture, appear to have had two wardens, eight assistants, and a beadle; and to have dined annually together. The Guildhall was allowed them for their meetings.

As late as A.D. 1736, we find a draft charter to the barbers ordered to be ingrossed, and sealed with the city seal.

Miracle Plays and Mysteries.

We must conclude our notice of the guilds of Canterbury by a few remarks on those Miracle Plays and Mysteries, which were formerly exhibited in the church at Westgate, by the Guild of Corpus Christi. Dated A.D. 1504 is a decree of the Burghmote "for the sustentation and continuance of the play called 'Corpus Christi.'" It was performed during Lent and upon certain festivals, and is otherwise denominated "Ludus Coventriæ," from having been first exhibited in that city. The prologue to the play was delivered by three persons.

A decree of Burghmote states, that a play having been originally "used and continued within the same

citie, called 'Corpus Christi Play,' as well to the honour of the same cite as to the profite of all vitelers, and other occupacions within the same, and which play before this time was maintained, and plaide att the costs and charges of the crafts and mystriers within the same citie, had now of late daies bene left and laide aparte, to the grete waste and decaye of the seide cite, and for lacke of good orderyng of certain crafts, within the seide citie, not corporate." The ordinance then proceeds to remedy the evil complained of, by ordering the union and incorporation of all the crafts for the support and performance of these plays.

The original foundation of "Corpus Christi" is unknown, but in the time of King Henry VI. it is said "to have been in existence from time immemorial."

The brotherhood called themselves the Fraternity of "Jesus' Mass," and maintained a chaplain, and possessed lands and houses, out of which a priest received an annual stipend of 7*l.*, including the expenses of wax and wine used in the church. This guild, according to Somner, was dissolved in the time of Edward VI.

These performances, which dealt with the most sublime subjects in a manner which appeared from their style, dialogue, and scenery to exhibit a combination of the ludicrous, the sacred, and the familiar, were a source of immense attraction to the people of England. Nor was the interest they excited confined to the lower classes, for we find that shows, masques, and pageants were constantly exhibited before the Sovereigns of this realm, both publicly and in private.

Henry VIII. and Wolsey had their entertainment of "Salvage Men" and grotesque monsters. Elizabeth delighted, or appeared to be delighted, in giants, dragons, and colossal heathen gods; and James I. took especial pleasure in the personification of the cardinal virtues, who delivered long-winded Latin orations and scholastic disquisitions to his heart's content.

The ancient mysteries performed by the Guild of "Corpus Christi"* frequently exhibited the august per-

* A Corpus Christi Guild was founded in Leicester as early as A.D. 1350. —*Arch. Journal*, March, 1863.

The Corpus Christi Play was dissolved at Maidstone A.D. 1547, by the Act for "The suppression of the Chantrys and Fraternities."

sonages of Holy Writ in a sort of comic burlesque; and one strong part was Noah and his wife fighting, previous to their entry into the Ark—a point which not only awakened the undisguised glee of the diabolic personages of the drama, but called forth the unbounded applause of what might be considered the pit, slips, and galleries of the devout audiences at Canterbury in the "Olden Time."

The ecclesiastics of the middle ages generally looked upon these performances with favour, and appointed priests and chaplains to their support. Not so, however, did the Fathers of the Church regard them. Cyril openly denounced them; Augustine held that those who went to these plays were as bad as those that composed them; Tertullian, Clement, and Basil of Alexandria repudiated their performance. Their existence is said to have dated from a very early period. A Jewish play in Greek iambics, the subject being the "Exodus," is supposed to have been the first known drama on a Scriptural subject.

The "Miracle Plays" alluded to by Chaucer* were exhibited at Canterbury during the middle ages. To the Guild of Corpus Christi in particular was assigned the drama or mystery in forty acts which traced the whole progress of Bible history, beginning with the Creation, and ending with the Last Judgment. This guild was held in Holy Cross Church, Westgate.

Pageants were likewise numerous. The commemoration of the martyrdom of Saint Thomas constantly recalled the people to the leading events of his life and death. An entry in the Records, A.D. 1504, gives many items of the preparations on one of these occasions. The image of the Archbishop was mounted on a carriage and drawn about the city. Thus we find "one Thomas Starke, carpenter, and his felowe, are paid 3*s.* 8*d.* for making the pageant, which took them four days." A great deal of timber was used on the occasion, although at a cost apparently small, 2*s.* 8*d.* being paid for "108 fote of borde, bought for the floring of the same pagent." "Item, ale spent, 1*d.*; to four men to helpe to carry the pagent, 8*d.*; and to Jamys Colman, for his horse hyre,

* Prologue, Wife of Bath's Tale.

4*d.*" "Item, to Gylbert, paynter, for painting of the awbe and the hedde, 6*d.* Item, for lynen cloth bought for Seint Thomas's garment, 6*d.*; for a dosyn and-a-half of tynen silver, 9*d.* Glue, and earthen pot, and 'packthrede,' cost together 3*d.*" "Item in colys (coals) to mylt the gleue, a reward gevyn to Thomas Fleechere for forgyng and making the Knygtes' hernes, to Johan a Tent for the hyre of a sword and for wasshyng of an albe and a amys," total 10*d.* Gunpowder, among other items, was purchased, the cost at Sandwich being 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 1*d.* for talowe for the whiles (wheels). A.D. 1521, the pageant is repaired, and among other charges for it we find 12*d.* paid "for a quarter of lambe and brede and drink for the Knyghtes and other that holpe to carry the pagent after the watch." The Prioress of St. Sepulchre received 20*d.* "for the standyng of the pagent in her barne this year."

The term gild, or guild, is derived from an Anglo-Saxon word signifying "to pay," and implied an association for religious or secular purposes. Men of various trades and occupations united together for their common spiritual benefit in life, and after death. The secular guilds eventually merged into trade companies.

The Feast of Fools.

To us it may seem strange, yet it is not difficult to account for, that medley of the grotesque and the ridiculous which was sometimes blended with the sacred and religious sentiment of the middle ages. This tendency may be even observed in sculpture and architecture, when in other respects architecture exhibited some of its most magnificent effects, although of course its eccentricity was then apparent only in the details and minutiæ of the work, such as the ornaments on mullions, tympanums, corbels, and mouldings. There might sometimes be noticed not only grotesque and distorted figures, but immoral and indecent representations but little concealed, and easily to be detected by the eyes of the curious.

Previous to the invention of printing and the advent of the Reformation, when the amusements or occupations derived from reading and education were afforded only to the few, the human mind seems to have sought to

gratify its activity by recourse to plays and spectacles which appealed to its lower qualities; hence the great popularity of maskers and mummers, puppit shows, and May games; and hence, by a little step, but scarcely one much higher, to mysteries and miracle plays.

Unable to repress this tendency, the ecclesiastical orders sought to guide and to regulate it, or turn it, if possible (but we believe vainly) to religious and moral purposes. At all events, it kept many active minds from speculating on politics and on ecclesiastical matters.

We have already alluded to mysteries and miracle plays, often performed in the churches themselves, as the "Jhesu Mass" was at our church at Westgate. But of all these amusements, if so we may call them, the "Bishop of All Fools" was the most extraordinary, the most strangely profane. The Bishop of Fools, we have every reason to believe, was elected on Innocents' Day by the subordinate portion of the monks themselves. In Canterbury, the Bishop of Fools, as Dr. Hook informs us, sat on the marble chair. The whole staff of the Cathedral—minor canons, choristers, and officials—attended upon him. As he entered the Cathedral, surrounded by his supporters, the "Te Deum" was solemnly sung; wine and fruit were produced and partaken of. The bishop then began to sing and intone in the most ludicrous manner, imitating the peculiarities (if any) of the higher orders of the church. Laughter, shouts, and hisses rose on every side. The services and offices of the church were broadly and coarsely profaned. The porter ascended the pulpit, and pretended to preach a sermon. The mock bishop, having bestowed his benediction, then rushed into the streets. It was like the saturnalia of heathen—the carnival of Christian Rome, travestied at Canterbury. The Bishop of Fools seemed to have licence to do what he liked. The higher ecclesiastics were sometimes present, as if they partook of the hilarity and enjoyed the poor fun of the occasion. For three days did this profanity last, during which the mock bishop bestowed his benediction from the window of the Archbishop's Palace to the crowds below, and officiated at matins, high mass, and vespers. It seems scarcely to be credible, but we give it on the authority of the

respected and learned author of the "Lives of the Archbishops" of Canterbury. The Bishop of Fools was all the while arrayed in pontificals, with alb and gown, but his chaplain, instead of the barritum, bore on his head a cushion.

A.D. 1364, Archbishop Simon Langham, then Bishop of Ely, did all he could to put down this odious practice by issuing his injunction against it. He denounced "the execrable custom of making a Feast of Fools. He inhibited it by especial authority of apostolic rescript, lest the house of prayer became a house of sport." *

The "Boy Bishop" was another of these popular performances. It was a far less profane and more respectable affair, and probably it bore a meaning, and sought to teach a moral, commemorative of the slaughter of the Innocents by Herod. It was encouraged by the religious orders; Dean Colet expressly enjoined that his scholars at St. Paul's "should, on Childermass day, come to Paulis' Church and hear the Chylde Bishop's sermon, and afterwards be at the high mass, and each of them offer a penny to the Chylde Bishop."

Henry VIII., A.D. 1542, put down this exhibition, but Queen Mary restored it during her reign.

The Corpus Christi play was very popular, and was played as lately as the close of the 17th century. The "Baptism of our Lord" was played by the Barbers' Company at Newcastle, 1437. A.D. 1568, the Slaters at the same time exhibited the "Offering up of Isaac." The fraternities appeared to be the chief performers of these plays, the subjects of which were often most extraordinary, such as the "Burial of our Lady, St. Mary the Virgin."

In the middle ages almost every church had a guild. Thus, in Leicester, St. Mary's Church had its Guild of the Holy Trinity, Saint Margaret its Guild of St. Margaret and of Saint Catherine, and St. Martin the Guild of Corpus Christi and of St. George.

Great was the show and gorgeousness of some of their celebrations. The priests and clergy arrayed in richly embroidered processional vestments; their attendants, some carrying crosses, some banners of varied hues and

* See Hook, vol. 4, p. 184–6.

strange devices; others bearing the richly apparelled images of their titular saints. Sometimes twelve men personified the twelve apostles, each bearing a name on his bonnet. The chanting of the priests, the music, the attentive crowds that followed, all served to impress the scene with a certain solemnity and awe. On some occasions the presence of young girls and virgins robed in white, gave a pleasing interest, if not a variety to the scene.

Against miracle plays, however, Queen Elizabeth at one time issued stringent orders.

St. George, in the procession at Norwich, was accompanied by the "Lady" on horseback, or, as she was sometimes styled, the "Maid;" and she had her henchman. In one of the entries of the Norwich guild is this item:—"Paid for half an hundred oranges given for borrowing a gown and kirtle for the Margaret" (otherwise the maid), 26 Henry VIII.

After service in the church, the procession moved through the principal streets, and thence to feasting in the hall of the guild.

At last came the orders for the suppression of the religious guilds. Down came the hangings before the Rood Loft; the images, mostly made of alabaster, were roughly plucked from their tabernacles or niches of stone or wood; large quantities of brass, a considerable weight of tapers, of wax, the sepulchral light and the sepulchre itself, were abolished, removed, and put out of sight for ever.

The Walloons and French Refugees.

The Walloons, the French Protestants, and other "Strangers," as they were called, formed at one time no inconsiderable portion of the population of Canterbury. Although from an early date after the Conquest many foreigners engaged in various trades and occupations had settled in England, and especially in the metropolis, their chief influx, which appears to have taken place in the 16th and 17th centuries, was produced by religious persecutions.

The cruel proceedings of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, where he represented the policy of his master, the bigoted Philip II. of Spain, is said, about the year 1567, to have driven forth as exiles 100,000 of the people. Previous to this date, however, many Dutch and Flemish Protestants had sought shelter in England, and even in Canterbury. The persecutions in France, A.D. 1547, when the entry of Henry II. into Paris was celebrated by the burning of the Huguenots in several streets, as a holocaust to sanctify his inauguration; the massacre on Saint Bartholomew's Day, instigated by his son, Charles IX., A.D. 1572; the Revocation, by Louis XIV., A.D. 1685, of that celebrated act of toleration called the "Edict of Nantes," which Henry IV. had promulgated 87 years previous, and by which his subjects were permitted to reside in all cities and places of his kingdom without being "examined, molested, troubled, or constrained to do anything in matters of religion against their consciences"—were among the chief causes that led to the immigration of the Protestant Strangers into this country. In Canterbury, the largest influx was of the Walloons, refugees from the Dutch and Flemish Protestant Churches. Certain privileges were granted to them, and they were permitted to exercise their various trades without being enforced to purchase their "freedoms."

Some of the Walloons, according to a tradition of their church, arrived in Canterbury in the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII.

A Walloon church certainly existed in this city A.D. 1550, and perhaps a few years earlier; and Elizabeth, A.D. 1561, as a further mark of her favour, grants them for a place of worship the undercroft of the Cathedral. A.D. 1579, Walloons appear to have had a congregation in the parish of Holy Cross, Westgate.

The refugees were weavers in silk and stuffs, and manufacturers of sayes and woollen cloths, and the occupations connected therewith, such as fulling, dyeing, weaving, &c.

A.D. 1649, the sealer of stuffs made by the Walloons had a shilling for sealing each piece. 9th Elizabeth, 1567, the Queen directs the Corporation by an order in Council, to receive the Walloons within the liberties of the city. Some 19 years later, the Corporation tax the Strangers towards the repairs of the Westgate. This they compound for by paying 15*l.*

The silk manufacturers may in some degree be said to owe their introduction in this country to the establishment of the refugees, first in Canterbury, and afterwards in Spital Fields.

Many dissensions arose from time to time among the "Strangers" meeting in the Undercroft; jealousies prevailed, especially when the emigrants from Lyons, Tours, and the South of France brought considerable additions to their numbers. The French Church separated; and although subsequently they rejoined their co-religionists in the Undercroft, we find, A.D. 1709, they met at a place then called the "Malthouse," within the precincts of the Archbishop's Palace, and their separate church was denominated the "French Uniform Church." It was about 1745 that they returned to the Undercroft. A division took place in the Walloon church in 1651; another in 1662; but a reconciliation was speedily effected; and, by an order from the King in Council, it was declared to constitute a part of the "Foreign Reformed Churches," to avoid the penalties of nonconformity, and the members of it were exempted from taxation for any poor but their own.

A.D. 1642, the Burghmote permitted the "Strangers" to have two seals to mark their different sorts of "sayes." A.D. 1680, the Corporation voted 5*l.* for "the distressed refugees coming out of France." This benevolence was directed to be distributed by the overseers of the Walloon church.

Driven by persecutian from their native land, the Strangers were not unmolested by a similar spirit in this country. As far back as the reign of Queen Mary, some of them, probably at the instigation of Philip, had been denied an asylum, and thrust back upon their tormentors. Archbishop Laud, in the next century, broke through the toleration extended to them, excommunicated some of their members, and directed his Vicar-General to call all of them to an account who did not attend the parish churches, in order that they might be presented and punished. Letters of the Archbishop to the King are extant, wherein he denounces "the Dutch Churches at Canterbury and at Sandwich, as the great nurseries of inconformity." On one of these is a note in the margin, by Charles himself, wherein he says, "Put me in mynd of this at some convenient tyme, when I am at Counsell, and I shall redress it."

Thus exposed to persecution in the land where they sought for repose and liberty of conscience, several thousand of these poor oppressed Huguenots turned their backs upon England, and sought security in Holland, a country then happily freed from foreign oppressors and religious bigots. No less than 140 families are said to have left Norwich. At Canterbury, an apparent special privilege was conceded to the "Strangers;" but whilst those who were born abroad were permitted the use of their own religious services, the young children were ordered to be separated from their parents, as far as religious services were concerned, and directed to attend the parish churches, and conform.

Before this period, however, that is, during Queen Mary's reign, their Protestant church had been temporarily closed.

Dr. Smiles informs* us that the first immigration to Canterbury of these Protestant refugees took place about

* Huguenots.

the middle of the 16th century. They came chiefly from Lisle, Nuelle, Turcoing, and other places. They consisted of eighteen families, led by their pastor, Hector Hamon. Landing first at Rye and Winchelsea, they proceeded from the latter place, after a little delay, to Canterbury. They there besought the Mayor and Corporation that they might settle "to labour, with freedom of religious worship."

Their memorial, in 1564, sets forth "that they had for the love of their religion relinquished their country and their worldly goods; and they humbly prayed to be allowed a place for carrying on religious worship, and a graveyard for their dead." Archbishop Parker had conceded to them the free use of a portion of the Undercroft of the Cathedral. Here they not only celebrated their religious rites and observances, but were allowed for a time to set up their looms, and carry on their accustomed occupations.

The Canterbury church, from time to time, received additions to its numbers. The church opened at the place called the Malthouse became extinct, in consequence of the removal of many of the silk weavers to Spitalfields, where, in the subsequent struggle of hand labour against machinery, the "Strangers," or rather their descendants, ceased to flourish, and endured many and lasting privations.

Referring back to the persecutions inflicted on the Strangers in the reign of Charles I., the King, on the breaking out of the Scottish war, found his hands employed with events of more national importance than the molestation of these poor people; and events soon followed which deprived his ecclesiastical minister, Archbishop Laud, of all power to carry out his schemes of conformity and interference.

However, in 1686, only one year after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Walloons were "troubled" by James II. in matters of religious forms and ceremonies. Their trials on this occasion were of short duration.

Commercial restrictions, however, had, in conformity with the spirit of the times, existed in the shape of high duties levied upon their staples. In 1639 it was ordered

that there be paid on silk a tax of sixpence in the pound to the silk office; whilst upon all manufactured stuff *sixpence* in the pound was directed to be paid by "foreigners," and *two pence* by "natives."

About the year 1665 the number of these "Strangers" at Canterbury amounted to 1300. In 1694 they had one thousand looms at work, and employed 2,700 people. Shortly after this period their trade declined, and in 1719 they were reduced to 334 looms and 58 master weavers. Many of the artizans had moved to London and elsewhere. The importation of silks and calicoes from India tended materially to diminish the demand for their fabrics, so that by the close of the last century, there were but ten master weavers in Canterbury, and eighty communicants to their church.

Among the Burghmote entries we note the following dispute, which arose when the master weavers, being reproached, A.D. 1650, "for employing a non-freeman in the conveyance of their goods to London," they excused themselves under the plea "that the Dover waggoner travelled after sunset, which their own carrier never did, and consequently, the former was frequently robbed of their goods." This gives a picture of the general insecurity of our London road after dark in the olden time.

The plague, which had proved on many occasions so severe a scourge at Canterbury, caused great mortality among the Stranges. In June, 1599, out of 26 deaths, 17 were from plague; in July, there were 78 deaths by plague; in August, 39; in September, 44. The ravages of this disease, February, 1582, are evidenced from the registers of the Canterbury church by the following simple, yet touching memorial of deaths in one family:—

"La feme Direlin,
Un autre enfant,
Magdalene sa fille,
Un autre petit,
Et un autre le mesme jour—
La dernier fille!"

A.D. 1574, Queen Elizabeth was at Stonar, near Sandwich, where a mock siege was got up for her entertainment; and two Walloons, each armed with a spear and shield, tilted at each other in boats, "at which the Queen

had good sport." Afterwards "Her Majestie beheld dyvers children, English and Dutch, to the number of one hundred and six score, spynnyng fine bay yarn together, a thing well liked both of Her Majesty and the ladies*."

The defeat of the "Invincible Armada" was a source of joy and triumph to these poor Strangers. At Southampton they rendered public thanks to God, and invoked blessings on the gallant English fleet. The Canterbury church was warmly moved upon this glorious occasion.

A few descendants of the old families still remain in Canterbury, and their names will be readily recognised, as Marseille, DeLasaux, Minot (or Minotte), Fedarb, Lepine, Borée, Beauvais, &c. Yet in some instances, by a curious process, during the course of time the names retaining their primitive meanings have become transmuted into corresponding English appellations. Thus the Del'Ors have become the Goulds; Del'Eau, Delo or Waters; Chevallier, Hostler or Horsely; La Planche, Plank; Derousseaux, Brooks; Thiery, Terry; Redotte, Ridout; Delmè or Delamer, Delmar; Corré, Carey; while Eastès was originally the ancient family of D'Este; Pout, anciently Dupont; and perhaps even some of the Birds and Nightingales came from the stranger immigrants at Canterbury, the Oiseaus and Rosignols.

We add to the above Le Fevre, De La Motte, Linird, Miette, Durant, Fleury, Minotte, and Dombrain, alias D'Embrun, a Protestant family of high distinction, the head of which, Jacques D'Embrun, fled from the tower of Embrun in 1572, escaping with six others, amongst whom appear the well-known names of their Canterbury descendants—De La Saux, De Cafour (Dickafour), Le Pin or Lepine, Le Gyt, and Le Grand, who crossed the sea in an open boat 19th August, 1572, and settled in Canterbury; John Six, F.R.S., the astronomer, who invented a new sort of thermometer, was one of the Canterbury Protestants. To these we add the name of Gambier, from whom James Gambier descended, an eminent lawyer; and another James, his son, who entered the navy, and was ennobled in 1756 by the title of Lord

* Burn, page 47.

Gambier. Mr. Anthony Clark, whose original name was "Macaire," and who with his wife were distinguished in this city for their acts of benevolence, was a Huguenot. He died A.D. 1835.

The Walloon Protestant church still meets in the crypt of the Cathedral. Service is performed every Sunday afternoon in the French language. A vestry still nominally exists; it once consisted of twelve elders and as many deacons. The number of the congregation in 1858 did not exceed eighteen. The funds for the purposes of the church and the poor, once kept distinct, are now united. They consist of 33 acres of land in Burmarsh, let at 111*l.* per annum. The land was purchased by donations and subscriptions from various members of the French church. The income is applied to the general purposes of the church, and to the relief of their poor. Besides the above receipts, there are other funds derived from the rents of land at Denstroode, in Blean parish, the gross annual value of which is 50*l.*, subject however to deductions for improvements. There are some cottages in Canterbury let as almshouses, rent free, to poor members. There is a small dividend also from an investment in South Sea Annuities. The "minister" or "reader" to the congregation now receives, out of these funds, one hundred and ten pounds per annum.

When danger threatened the kingdom, the Walloons were in no wise behind the other citizens in patriotism. When a call for arms arose, and armed men went forth in the days of Elizabeth to resist the threatened invasion of Spain by her "Invincible Armada," the "poor Strangers" mustered their recruits; and the "Walloon drum," as recorded in the city Records, sounded amongst other warlike instruments its call to summon the men, who mustered at the camp, then formed at Northbourne, A.D. 1588, and who doubtless would have given a good account of their deeds had the invaders dared to land.

Archbishop Becket.

THERE are but few allusions to the Martyr in the city archives. St. Thomas's Hill, we are informed, was formerly called "Saint Thomas à Becket's Hill;" and on the neighbouring eminence of Harbledown one of the Archbishop's shoes was preserved, or rather the sole of one, set with jewels or coloured stones; the which sole, as testified by Erasmus, the pilgrims, upon the payment of a fee, were permitted devoutly to kiss. It is, perhaps, not generally known that Thomas Becket was formally unsainted by Henry VIII. This monarch ordered his Attorney-General to file a "Quo Warranto" against him for usurping the office of a saint; Becket was cited to appear in court to answer to the charge. Judgment of "ouster" would have passed against him by default, had not the King, to show his impartiality and regard for the administration of justice, assigned him counsel at the public expense. The case having been called on, and the Attorney-General and Becket's counsel fully heard, sentence was pronounced to this effect:—"That Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of contumacy, treason, and rebellion, and that his bones should be publicly burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead; and that the offerings made to his shrine should be forfeited to the Crown, his images and pictures destroyed, and his name erased from the list of saints."

A.D. 1536, Henry had suppressed the lesser monasteries. A.D. 1538, he had seized upon Saint Augustine's, and in the summer of that year Christ Church was already condemned. Men were then thinking, speaking, and writing of the religious institutions of the day in a manner they had not ventured to do since the time of Wiclif; and although Henry was deposing one pope to set up another, strange things were uttered of ecclesiastical doings, and of the relics of saints. Every effort was made by the Court party to expose the Romanists.

There is a curious passage in a letter of Cranmer to

Cromwell* among the State Papers, dated 18th August, 1538. The Archbishop, in allusion to the Martyr, says :— "Farther, because I have in great suspecte that Saint Thomas of Canterburye, his blodde in Christes' Church, in Canterburye, is but a fayned thing, and made of some redde okar or such like matier, I beseeche your Lordship that Dr. Lee, and Dr. Barbour, my chapleyns, may have the Kinges' commission to trye and examen that and all other like thynges there."

It is generally supposed that in August, 1538, the shrine of Becket was shown for the last time to Madame de Montreuil and her party of ladies, for Penison, in a letter dated 1st of September, giving an account of that visit to Cromwell, says :—"And so yesterday ensuying the Maister of the Rolls in the mornyng dyd present her a plentous dissh of fresh sturgion, and so by ten of the cloc, she, her gentil women, and the said ambassadour whent to the church, where I showed her Sainte Thomas's shrine, and all such things worthy of sight, at which she was not little marveilled of the great riches thereof, saing to be innumerable ; and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the wourlde would never a made her to belyve it. Thus ever looking and viewing more than an oure as well the shryne as Sainct Thomas's hed, being at both sett cushions to knyle, and the Priour opening Saint Thomas's hed, *sqing* to her three times, 'This is Sainct Thomas' hed,' and offered her to kysse it, but she nother knyled nor would kysse it, but still vewing the riches thereof." The good Prior, doubtless full of misgivings at the warnings of the times, and aware that the King was about to deal with Christ's Church as he had already done with other monastic establishments, forbore to rebuke the lady's indifference. On the contrary, he sent Lady Montreuil that afternoon so plentiful a store of "capons, coneys, chickens, and fruits," that she thereupon exclaimed, "What shall we doo with so many ? Let the Lord Prior come and helpe us to eat them to morowe at dynner !"—which the Lord Prior doubtless condescended to do.

There is another letter to Cromwell of the same date from Brian Tuke, from which we learn that St. Augus-

* Then Vicar General.

tine's having been surrendered into the King's hands, Tuke, on the ground that his father was a gentleman of Kent, and on the plea, doubtless without much foundation, that the Abbot of Saint Austin's had usurped lands belonging to his family, situate near Hythe and Sandwich, prays Cromwell to beseech the King to bestow upon him the revenues and possessions of the suppressed abbey, concluding his supplication by declaring "As I am his Grace's most humble vassal and most bounden bedesman, so were I and my poor posterity obliged to be in the place of a slave to his excellent highness."

Thus the abject spirit of the subject stands in fit accord with the rapacity of the Sovereign. At the very time, however, these transactions were occurring, Miles Coverdale was translating the Holy Scriptures, and Cranmer was debating with Cromwell whether "the Great Bible"* was to be sold when published for thirteen and four pence or ten shillings.

It was in Henry III.'s reign that the corpse of Becket, which had lain in the crypt for 50 years and upwards, was taken up, and the bones and skull being placed in a chest of iron, borne on the shoulders of some of the first lords of the land to the east end of the Cathedral beyond the high altar. The King was there, but, on account of his tender age, he was not permitted to sustain the coffin. The new shrine, a gorgeous work of gold and silver, had been already prepared.—*Dr. Hook*, vol. ii. p. 746.

It is not generally surmised, we believe, that the knights, the principal actors in the murder of Becket, escaped all punishment; such, however, was the fact. They were excommunicated certainly, but in other respects they went off with impunity. They retired at first to De Morville's Castle of Knaresborough.

Perhaps the action of the King in some measure accounted for their escape. Henry, if not really penitent, was at all events thunderstruck, and perhaps conscience smitten by the universal burst of horror that seemed to rise from all ranks of the people at the sacrilege and murder. Nor could he be less moved by the attitude of the ecclesiastical orders. Hence he made a sort of confession, which in some degree turned away popular

* Known as "Cranmer's Bible."

wrath from the actual murderers. "He had not desired the deed; it had caused him the deepest sorrow," he said; but then he admitted, "that he had used words that the knights had misunderstood." Political events darkened around him. The Scots had crossed the border. His son Henry was meditating rebellion. Then, after a lapse of some considerable time, he professed himself willing to pay any penalty which the church might exact. Accordingly he came from France, and landed after a stormy passage at Southampton; thence he came to Canterbury, making offerings at various shrines on his way.

On arriving at Harbledown he alighted, and proceeded on his way on foot to the oratory at Saint Dunstan's. Here he in part disrobed, put on the penitential shirt of hair, over which was thrown the coarse pilgrim's cloke; and then with bare, and after a time with bleeding feet, Henry, King of England, great grandson of the Conqueror, walked through the streets of the city to the Cathedral.

What a wondering crowd beheld his approach, and then followed on his steps, in silence doubtless, if not awe stricken at the judgment of God, at the triumph of his church!

Tarrying a few minutes at the spot where the murder had been done, he slowly passed into the crypt; its gloom then broken, yet looking strange and shadowy, with a hundred gleaming lights and tapers.

Here, we are told, he burst into tears, and flung himself upon the ground. A group of knights and ecclesiastics were around him. The Bishop of London stepped forth, and repeated something like a confession for the King, "that he had not commanded the murder, but he had caused it by his hasty speech."

The King now moved towards the tomb or shrine. He made offerings of silks, and it is said of wedges of gold. To the Chapter he promised lands.

Then came the strangest scene of all, the satisfaction to be given on his person in expiation of the crime.

The King threw off his cloak, he knelt, and laid his head on the tomb of Becket, and Bishop and Abbot, as many as were present, each struck him five times with a rod. The eighty monks followed, each striking him three times. Such was the penance. Then Henry

Plantagenet arose, but not as yet to depart. For the rest of the day, nay, through the night till morning, he remained in silence, without food, without sleep, by the Martyr's tomb.

The knights, the actual perpetrators of the murder, are said speedily to have recovered their position and the King's favour; at least Tracy did, being made by the King, Chief Justiciary of Normandy. Morville lived on until the reign of King John, and died peaceably in his bed. Fitzurse ("son of the Bear") retired to Ireland, and became the founder of the family of Mac Mahons—"Sons of the Bear" in Irish. Bret, or de Brito, received no punishment, fell into no public disgrace. Many of the other enemies of Becket, open and avowed ones in his lifetime, were promoted and advanced by the King. Perhaps, however, the fact of the murderers of Becket being ecclesiastical offenders in some way prevented their prosecution. Wherefore, however, we cannot say.

Becket, as quoted by Hovenden, vol. i. p. 259, gives the following description of his ancestry:—"Quod si ad generis mei radium et progenitores meos intenderis, cives quidem fuerunt Londonæ," &c. They were London citizens, in fact, of the middle class.

Amongst the many memorials written of Becket, we refer our readers to Canon J. C. Robertson's most thoughtful, interesting, and accurate life of the Archbishop, and to Dean Stanley's "Memorials of Canterbury."

Pilgrims' Signs, Tokens, Trade Marks, and Base Money.

We give in Plate 16 a few examples of the above. Nos. 1 & 3 are pilgrim's tokens in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Very few of these memorials have been found at Canterbury, as far as we know. The great collections have been made in London from the bed of the Thames, and from or near the site of Old London Bridge. At Canterbury, however, were foundries for casting these leaden objects, and one is said to have existed within the precincts of the Cathedral. They were given or sold to the pilgrims, most of whom, according to Chaucer, were eager to carry some of them home with them as tokens of their pilgrimages, and as a remembrance of the city whose Cathedral enshrined the relics of so great a saint. At page 81, Coll. Ant., vol. i., Mr. C. R. Smith, F.S.A., by whose permission I introduce on my plate Nos. 1 & 3, gives an interesting account of these tokens.

"At the Chequer of the Hope, that many a man doth know," in Mercery Lane, a number of our Canterbury pilgrims used once to lodge, and hence they proceeded to the Cathedral to make their offerings, mostly at the shrine of St. Thomas, to the total neglect almost, at one time, of other supposed holy places.

An interesting account is given by Mr. C. R. Smith, in the volume referred to, of these pilgrims:—"How they kissed the holy relics;" how the miller, as described by Chaucer, "bought and pinned on his bosom signs of 'Canterbury brooches;'" and how not a little irregularity prevailed at times amongst the motley group of devotees, honesty not appearing to be one of the most predominant virtues they possessed, for although "each man set his silver on such things as he liked," some of them, in spite of the old friar who stood by, with his "doggish eye," and who we suppose had always a stock of these tokens on sale, managed to secrete a lot of them

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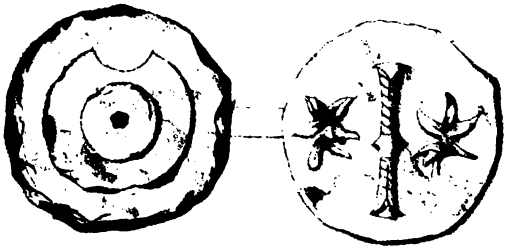
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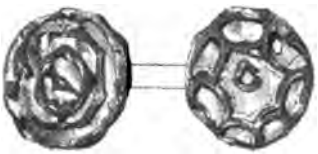
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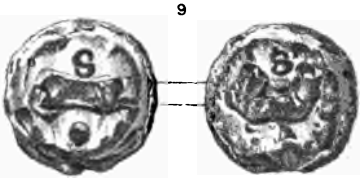
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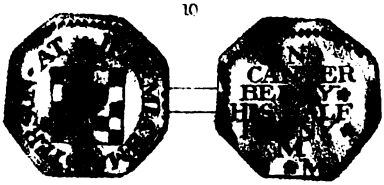
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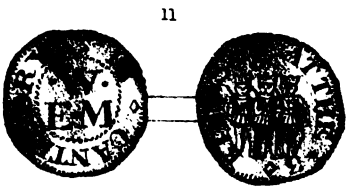

11

CHATELAINE, TRADE MARKS,
TOKENS &c

Kell, lith. 8, Castle St Holborn E C

"privily in their pouches."* Intrinsically these leaden or pewter objects were of little value, nor even of much artistic consideration. They are curious, and manifest considerable variety.

Those relating to St. Thomas mostly exhibit the effigy or head and neck of the saint. Many were cast relating to other shrines and saints. A token portraying St. John carrying a lamb was found in the River Stour, near Canterbury, some time since.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., of Bromley, has a fine collection of these tokens, which will shortly be described in one of our Kentish Archæological Works.†

Plate 16, Nos. 4–8, 9, are tradesmen's marks of lead, mostly duplex, to give them hold on the stuffs, &c., which they sealed. Probably some of them were used by the Walloons of Canterbury. They have been found in considerable number and variety in this city.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, are leaden tokens or base money used by tradesmen as small change for their customers; and Nos. 10 and 11 are tradesmen's tokens in copper, the obverse and reverse of each of which are given on the Plate 16. About 40§ of these have been found in connection with Canterbury tradesmen; they are called halfpence, and also occasionally are described as farthings. Many of them bear the signs of the house or place of business of the owner, such as the two examples which we give:—

No. 10, "Jeremiah Matherson, at the" (Chequers), and reverse, "In Canterbury, his Halfpenny."

No. 11, "At the 3 Kings," reverse, $\frac{W}{E—M}$ "In Canterbury."

These tokens were issued by the tradesmen between the years 1640 and 1680, to supply the deficiency of the copper coinage. Many of them exhibit signs, such as a "vase of flowers," "roll of bread," "a ship," "a pair of scales," "a comb," "a man making candles," "a

* See Supplement to Canterbury Tales, as quoted by Mr. T. Wright and C. R. Smith.

† Of such special value were the Becket tokens once considered, that Louis XI. of France applied to be supplied with one of these memorials. Nos. 4, 5, and 7 are from Mr. Pool's Collection, who has permitted me to illustrate them and other antiquarian objects in his possession.

§ See List.

pair of shears;" and on some are the arms of the Ockman family, "a fess between three crescents."

A.D. 1646, the Recorder's opinion was taken respecting "the great abuses which had arisen from the making and uttering of divers farthings and pieces of metal." However, nothing seems to have been done towards their suppression. They were issued not only at Canterbury, but in the towns and villages of East Kent, Wye, Faversham, Chilham, Sturry, Wingham, Sandwich, Dover, &c. Before the close of the century, however, the coining of these tokens was effectually suppressed.

State of the Poor of the City Workhouse.

John Clarke, Master, July 1st, 1746.

Men.

Porter	1	21—1 does nothing; 20 work = 21
Beadle	1	
School master	1	
Assistant	1	
Brewer	1	
Tuglers	3	
Shoemakers	2	
For hop bagging	5	
Draw cords	1	
Pick tow	3	
All works	1	
Blind	1	

Women.

Cook	1	4	Sick
Spin hemp and flax	2	10	Do nothing
Spin	5	28	Work
Knitt and sew	6		
School mistresses	2		
Nurses and helpers	12	42.	
Sick	4	42	
Old and	6		
Blind	2		
Lame	2		

Boys.

Draw cord	20	19	Do nothing
Hop bagging	14	44	Work
Pick tow	10		
Do nothing	19	63.	
		63	

Girls.

Spin hemp and flax	6	1	Sick
Spin	20	9	Do nothing
Knitt and sew	10	36	Work
Sick	1		
Do nothing	9	46.	
		46	

	£	s.	d.
Maintenance of poor - - -	1,411	4	2
	£	s.	d.
Received by earnings of the poor -	190	1	3½
Rents, poor priests - - -	128	10	0
For maintaining George Hayward -	6	2	0
(to be deducted)	324	13	3½
	£	s.	d.
Charge to the city - -	1,086	10	10½

Price of Goods.

Wheat, 22*s.* 6*d.* to 26*s.*, 27*s.*, 28*s.*, 34*s.*, 35*s.*, 36*s.* 6*d.*
Malt, 20*s.* per qr.
Beef, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per score.
Mutton, 3*d.* to 3½*d.* per pound.
Cheese, 3*d.* to 3½*d.* do.
Coals, 30*s.* to 32*s.*, 33*s.* per chaldron.

Hole Clothes.

In the Burghmote Records of Canterbury, A.D. 1506, there is an entry which is not easy to explain. It is entitled a "Decree for encouraging the making of cloth in Canterbury." This was previous to the advent of the Walloons or Strangers, our great cloth-makers, or the principal part of them. After reciting, "That before this time, within the seid cite was grete plentie of clothe mackyn used, whereby many and diverse artificers as the poure spynsters of the seide cite were profitably occupied, in the which tyme the seid cite flourished in prosperite, and for lacke of continuance grete idelness and poverte increaseth to grete decay and desolation" (this description is somewhat surprising, as Canterbury was at this time in the receipt of a vast crowd of pilgrims flocking to the shrine of Becket, and consequently spending money), the decree then enacts, "That for the year next following, at the Feast of Easter, 1507, there shall be made by the Maior and his brethren and other like to them, a number of *hole* clothes, whereof the Maior, and each of his brethren and siche other lyke to them, whose names are annexed to this act, shall make two hole clothes, every clothe containing 22 yards." "The commonalty and

siche like to them are to make one hole clothe" A fine is ordained of 10*s.* if the Mayor is negligent or the Aldermen be "remysinge" in the "seid clothes making." The Mayor is to be fined 20*s.* additionally, if he do not look after and inforce the fines for "non makyng their clothes" as above specified The Chamber is to distrain upon offenders.

We have allusions in the Records to "Aldermen in livery;" but we confess we do not understand why the Corporation thus voluntary imposed upon themselves the task of being their own tailors, and how by so doing they could relieve the distress of the poor spinsters and others. Did *hole* clothes mean holy clothes? and even if so, why should the Corporation individually make them? Or did it mean the Mayor and Aldermen, and "siche like to them," were to order these clothes to be made? It does not say so?

By another provision, all cloth-makers coming into the city are to forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.*; and all butchers are prohibited selling tallow out of the city.

Manners, Customs, and Amusements.

It would be interesting to obtain an insight into the employments and amusements of the citizens of Canterbury a few centuries since, the more especially when we consider how our own habits, social customs, and opinions, have been affected by the progress of science and civilization. Yet we are not altogether without some glimpses of this inner life in Canterbury in the olden time.

Let us take the era of Henry VII., allowing the range of a few years. The old ecclesiastical glory of Canterbury was now at its culminating height. Mark, on festal days, the long processions; note the ringing of bells, the continued calls to mass and prayers, the holiday groups, the strange habits and costumes alike of pilgrims or of inhabitants. The tall, narrow, overhanging houses, the Tudor built square-windowed domiciles, the ponderous signs, the colonnades and covered ways, as in the ancient Mercerie, and other thoroughfares, especially in such localities where humble dwellings were still seen with roofs thatched with straw or rushes. Numerous were the ecclesiastical buildings; the stately Cathedral, its central tower not long erected, ever exciting the wonder and admiration of all observers. Exclusive of the present parish churches might be noted Saint Michael near Broad-street, Saint Edmund by the Ridingate, the old Church of Saint Mary de Castro and St. John the Poor. There were the Priories of Christ Church and of Saint Gregory, whose superiors were wont to be summoned to Parliament. Over the low buildings immediately in its neighbourhood rose the Abbey of St. Augustine with its lofty tower, bearing a remote tradition of Ethelbert in its name. Scattered at unequal intervals among the narrow ways, old courts, and odd little passages, rose the houses and offices of the Black, White, and Grey Friars, the Knights Hospitalers, the poor priests' domicile, cells, chantrys, almonries, and hospitals; while the conventual

home of the Nuns of the Holy Sepulchre loomed nigh to Oaten Hill, and the hospital of St. Lawrence, and rudely-carved effigy of the tortured saint—all within easy search of the inquirer. Silently pass by, one by one, the Black Nuns of the Holy Sepulchre, their dark sombre figures and gliding quiet steps awaking surprise even in those days of strange and varied garbs and vestments. They pass by on some mission of charity and peace, and disappear in the turnings of the narrow streets. By and bye, a few years later, cries of treason and insurrection shall gather round their quiet home; and, fostered by their zeal, by their love, or by their superstition—perhaps by a combination of all these motives—the "Holy Maid" shall go forth from the shadow of these walls on her crusade against the oppressor and destroyer of the monastic orders, and bring a miserable ruin on herself and all who abetted her.

It is at the Cathedral, where, resplendent with the offerings of kings and princes, shone that master wonder of the age, the Shrine of Saint Thomas, that the people, pilgrims, and spectators were most densely congregated. This shrine was the richest in all Europe. To it were brought the most costly gifts, so that while the shrines of Christ and the Virgin were almost neglected, in some years its offerings swelled in value to nine hundred pounds and upwards.

Chaucer has, at an earlier era, in his descriptive pages, carried his pilgrim groups to Canterbury. How vividly the scenes portrayed arise before us even now! The last stage into Canterbury, for instance, when from afar they hail the Cathedral towers, and the little hilly hamlet called "Bob-up-and-down" is about to be descended. His descriptions would almost have applied to the period we are treating of, so few of the great discoveries among which we live, with the exception of printing, had then influenced the social condition of mankind.

Of the daily routine of the lives of the civic dignitary, or of his humble fellow-citizen, we can tell something:—Early matins have sounded, and the good man has opened his shop; he is off to prayers, probably to St. Mary Bredman's, then a sort of official church. On his return he finds prepared his substantial breakfast—ale, strong and

heady, perhaps without hops, though somewhat spiced, if the morning be a cold one; good beef and pork, the latter none of the tenderest from acorn feeding, barley meal in those days being too good for swine, and a luxury even for some men; brown bread, or rather black bread, and white bread, bacon, and cheese. Perhaps before he has well nigh finished, for official business commenced early, he hears the wailing note of the old brass Burghmote horn sounded at the corner of his street. He must away, and hasten to council, where he arrives just in time to escape the fine, for the service is commenced, perhaps well-nigh finished.

Seated beside Mr. Mayor, he feels all the dignity of office come around him, especially if he be an Alderman, in every fold of his crimson robe, in every roll of its fur of sable, or black boge (dyed lamb's-wool). Important business is on hand. A cess is to be raised to provide horsemen for some expedition of the Sovereign, or for a contribution for a ship of war—ship money, illegal or otherwise, being no new nor unfrequent exaction. Minor details require attention—Avery Sabine is to be punished for keeping hogs in the churchyard, Goodman Trench for driving posts in the King's highway, and Thomas attè Court for selling beer in wooden bound pots. Potevin, the barber surgeon of St. Peter's, has charged 2*d.* for "polling" a man, and on a Sunday too! Nay, let the wardens of the barbers' and surgeons' fraternity look to this; they may bring the culprit before the Alderman of his ward, and he will sit in judgment on him at the gate.

Other business is on hand; the last is the best. The Sovereign intends to visit Canterbury: a piece of plate, or cup of silver gilt containing 20*l.* in gold is gladly voted to be offered as a free gift for royalty, and an "oration" is to be delivered by some clerkly man; whilst heralds, trumpeters, sergeants at arms, are all to have presents, even down to the "gentlemen surveyors of the ways." So it was in the reign of Elizabeth, it being resolved, "That Mr. Mayor, the Aldermen, and every one of them, ride in their scarlet gowns to meet the Queen; and the Common Council be on foot with their best apparel, and likewise as many of the chief Commoners as have gowns."

Mr. T. Wright, who examined our city archives in the year 1844, extracted therefrom the following curious account of the manner in which one of our citizens spent his time in the olden days. It is the deposition of William Gyldwyn, a tiler, a witness, before William Nutte, Mayor of the city, 25th Henry VIII. :—

"The seid William Gyldwyn seyth, that on Sunday next, after Alle Seynts, he was at hys own parisshe chyrch at morrow masse and matins, and byfore processioun at Christeschyrche he brake hys fast with M. Goodnestoun, monk, and after high masse then done, he came home to dyner to hys owne house, and outher (either) he was at evensong the same day at Seynt Margarette's or at Seynt Mildrede's, as yet he is in doughte; and after evensonge he went agayn to Christeschyrche and delivered Master Goodnestoun a ribbe of bef, and a surloin for young monks, and ther was with M. Botley till VII. of the clok, and then went streyte home to bed. And the Monday next he rose at VII. of the clok, and went to hys mother's and holpe her to oven with a bacche of brown brede, and went thence to masse to the Gray Fryers at IX. of the clok, and heard masse, and before X. of the clok he came home; and after went and sought his servant Thomas at the Johan Freman's and the Cardinalle's Hat, and coud not fynd him at none of the seid places; and then he went to Johan James' and bought a rybster of pork, and then went stroyt home, and incontinent he went to Johan Rygdon's, to Nether Hardres, and a sawyer with him, to shew hys saweres such tymber as they should work for hym, and came agayn to Thomas Halke to Harman's Sole, and ther he and hys sawyer tarryed till the moon was up, and came home, and were at home by estimacion by VIII. of the clok the seid Monday night; and then he went to Thomas Godhard, and ther had an halpeny worth of bere amonges wyfes: that is to say, Goddard's wife, Cornewelle's wyfe, and another woman, and after that went streyte home to bed by IX. of the clok. And the Tewysday next he rose aboute VII. of the clok, and then he went continually with suche company as went aboute to search for the robberry done the seid Monday night to dyverse persons ther in Stower Street." At the end of the accompanying document we have a description of the

deponent's personal appearance:—"His apparell was a jackett of red clothe, a dublett of ledder, his hosen blake."

From another extract made by the same eminent antiquary, we have an account of an affray in the reign of Henry VIII.

A witness deposes, that whilst walking the streets of Canterbury, "About x. of the clok aforenoon, and he being about the house of Myles Ansell, he heard a great noyse of wemen in the strete, and ther withall he looked back and saw yong Holman and another, whom yt ys said is old Holman, his man, fytyng and strykyng both upon one Robert Bright, at his oune doore, which sayd Robert Bright, when this examynat came by hyme, but even a little before, he was laying out of red woole in the soune with his wyffe. And he seying them together he made haste back to them, and when he returned to them he made bothe Holman and his fellowe, who had ther daggers drawn in ther handes, to lay ther daggers downe, and so they did. And the saide Bright being sore hurt by them was stayed up agaynst the walle by wemen, who bound up his harme, being sore hurt, and he went into Vygar's house to cause them to loke to hyme, and to give hym drynk; and in the meane tyme Holman had taken up his dagger and shrunck away."

To the above may be added records of proceedings between the city and the prior and monks of Christ Church, in a suit concerning the course of the river, and ancient subsidies and assessments for the relief of persons infected with the plague.

The Burghmote books of city of Canterbury are preserved from the close of the 13th century to the present day, with the exception of the records, about A.D. 1470, and a few years later, being part of the time of the Wars of the Roses. The accounts of the Chamberlains of Canterbury are also extant. They contain for the most part the receipts and expenditure of the corporate body; also notices of monies credited for fees, franchises, and fines.

Among the extracts given therefrom by Mr. T. Wright, we find, A.D. 1520, an accurate account of the cost of that elaborate and dreaded piece of machinery, instrument of torture it might be truly called by the female

portion of the community, "the cokyng stole." Among other entries we find:—

	s.	d.
Item, paied for a pece of tymber for the ladder of the cuckyng stole, and staves to the same		xx
Item, for slytting of the seid pece of tymber in 3 calves (?) with the 2 shelle calves (?).		viii
Item, for a pece of tymber for the fote of the ladder, containing 12 fote		xv
Item, for a pynne of yren (iron), waying xii lbs., and 2 plates, waying vii lbs.	ii	iiii
Item, paied Harry Shephard and his mate, carpenters, for iii dayes and di (half). Hewing and making of the cuckyng stole, takyng by the daye, xii pence. Summa	iii	vi
Item, paied Christofer Wedy, for carryage of the seid tymber to the place where the seid cuckyng stole stondeth, etc.		iiii
Item, for di (half) c. (100) of iii penny nailes		i ob.
Item, for a grete spykyn to ii staples, and a haspe for the seid stole		iii
Summa	x	i ob.

The above cost 10*s.* 0¼*d.* It must have been an awful machine, for which not only a ladder was requisite, but an iron pin, twelve pounds in weight. Besides this were required twelve feet of timber, two hasps, and a "grete spykyn." It could scarcely have been the simple "cuckyng stole" described in another place. However, it appears to have been worn out in just twenty-seven years, as, A.D. 1547, another is made, and among the items of its cost we read:—

	s.	d.
Item, paid Dodd, carpenter, for makyng of the cokyng stole, and sawing the tymber, by grete	v	viii
Item, a pair of cholls (?)	iii	iiii
Item, paid for ii yren pynnes for the same, waying v li, at ii pence ob. li		xii ob.

What were cholls? We do not know—they seem to have been comparatively expensive; but when we reflect that the reign of the ungallant Henry VIII. had only just concluded, we are prepared for any cruel infliction upon the ladies.

A.D. 1546, among rewards to minstrels we find:—

	s.	d.
Item, to the Prynce's Players at the Checker pleying before Master Mayere and his brethren	v	
Item, to the Kynge's Pleyers on the same occasion	vi	viii
Item, geryn in reward to the Kynge's Jestour	ii	

As early as the 17th Edward IV., eightpence was paid for repairing the "gret gonne."

A.D. 1521, we have the following estimate of the services of a Canterbury artist in ornamenting the market cross :—

	s.	d.
Item, paied to Floraunce, the paynter, by the grete, for the workmanship thereof, he fyndyng all maner of stuff to the payntyng of the Crosse except gold and bise, and gylding of the Stars	VIII	VIII

Doubtless this cross, which seems to have been highly ornamented as far as stars and paint and gold could make it, stood in the locality of the present Butter Market; although we have records of ancient crosses at the bottom of St. Margaret's Street, St. Paul's, and at Oaten Hill.

In connection with our previous remarks upon jury presentments, we add the following :—

Item, thatt Thomas Gonely and John Hopper doe take excessyve towle, and that they will grynde no wheate under II pence the bushel, where they never had before but I penny.

Item, they present Thomas Getter, John Collard, Robert Austen, James Netherwell, and George Weston, for thatt they make nott there common beare holesom for man's bodie.

Our forefathers were very great at May games, childanes, scotales, &c. The latter were drinking bouts, where the prize was generally adjudged to the man who saw all his companions under the table. They had to treat him, and pay the "scot." This was reversing Burns' order of precedence :—

> "Who first beside his chair shall fa,
> He is the King amang us a!"

Survey Canterbury a few centuries back from such point of view as its ancient history and descriptions develope, and what a strange scene it would exhibit! Down the narrow dark streets, unlighted in the gloomiest nights, might be seen the motley inhabitants wandering forth with links or lanthorns; wooden houses with roofs of straw or rushes presented themselves, or low buildings with overhanging roofs, or buildings supported by grotesque figures, telamonies, goblins, and grinning

monsters, whilst runic knots, scrolls, and zig-zags completed the list of all that was ornamental. Here were lanes, odd nooks, and corners, queer old buildings with some monster or elfin carved upon the massive beams, at which the pilgrim stared, hardly knowing whether to cross himself or not, whether it betokened a saint duly canonized, or a devil, or a punchinello who owed his existence to that comic spirit which the genius of ecclesiastical architecture and art invoked in the middle ages, in strange contrast to its devotional tendencies.

Visitors to Canterbury in Olden Times.

To Canterbury, in the early times, when the "Forest of Blen" stretched for leagues over the hills on the northern banks of the Stour, and the outskirts of the great wood of Andred approached it from the Weald on the south and south-west, came the Roman with his legions; and, from time to time, with arms in their hands and battle shouts upon their lips, proclaiming war, or proffering a friendship still more dangerous, came the Jute, the Angle, and the Saxon. Hither swarmed the Danes too; the beacon fires on the hills around, up the valley of the Stour, now through the clear blue summer skies, now from the black December shadows, proclaiming the advent of these marauders. In some wild bay they landed. Quick, ready, violent, they commenced their instant march of havoc; their success achieved rather by the rapidity of their progress, and the terror they inspired, than by discipline or knowledge of the arts of war.

Sometimes, as on the coast where they landed, they at once were "horsed," as the old chronicle informs us; sometimes, far inland, near populous town or hamlet. Here they met in arms the holders of the country; here raged the battle from morning glimmer until the landscape darkened. Desperately wrestled the Saxon with his foe; but out of the gloom of night came often the cry of havoc and exultation; the Saxon array was broken, the Northmen remained masters of the "place of carnage."*

From the sanctuary at Canterbury, the Danes led forth the pious and brave Elphege; first to imprisonment, and then to death, and delivered up the Cathedral and other buildings to the flames.

Yet long before this, in better, at least in more tranquil times, had come Augustine with his banner of Christ and

* See A. S. Chronicle.

his chanting priests, approaching in slow procession the superstitious Ethelbert, who, seated in the open air as his surest protection against magic and incantations, thus received the strangers. Here stood his Queen, the gentle Bertha ; her curiosity softening to a deeper interest as she heard proclaimed the wondrous doctrines of the strangers, recalling to her the land and creed of her fathers, and the spells of a devotion that even then absorbed her soul.

Around and beside herself and husband were grouped the priests of Woden, themselves, as we are led to believe, not undisturbed spectators; nor were they wholly hostile to the great missionary, but in some way prepared to desert the altars of their Saxon gods, and to trample out the ashes glowing before the grim old idols they had set up at Wodnesborough and elsewhere.

Hither came often Godwin, strong man and potent earl; his true descent from the Norse Sea Kings proclaimed in his violence and fierce will. Hither came he with his sons, all stout and valiant Thanes, save Tosti the Treacherous, and all thirsting for power and rule, and the spilling of blood, if rule and power came not otherwise.

Yet, among this brotherhood arose one man true at least for Saxon England, if false to his fraud-obtained oath, Harold the King—he who, save for that chance arrow at Hastings, might have been the father of our Kings to this day. Often came Harold to Canterbury, for he held a patrimony in this Kent of ours, and longed to see certain roofs and pinnacles arise, for a fair lady that he loved is known to have held possessions in this city.*

The Conqueror and his sons frequently passed through, to and from their Norman provinces.

Stephen of Boulogne too, against whom, A.D. 1135, the citizens, loyal to the will of the first Henry, barred their gates.

Hither, from Saltwood Castle, the stronghold of the fierce De Broc, came Fitzurse, Tracy, Morville, and others, shouting "Reaux! King's Men!" to rouse the country through which they passed, and to give a royal

* See Domesday Record, Canterbury.

sanction to their deeds. Here came the four assassin knights to confront and slay Archbishop Becket. Here, A.D. 1174, came the very King in whose name they had wrought the murder—pacing as a penitent with bare feet the Cathedral pavements, and casting himself with all outward abandonment of remorse and sorrow before the shrine of the once potent and imperious ecclesiastic who had defied him.

Then flocked that multitude of pilgrims hither, whose offerings loaded the new martyr's shrine with wealth, and whose presence filled Canterbury with groups of men of strange appearance and of various habits; for they came not only from the remotest parts of England, but from Rome and the Continent at large.

Through the covered way of the Mercerie to the Cathedral the continuous stream swept on. The solemn mass, the devotional chant, filling choir and aisles, as in the sunlight gleamed like fire the golden angel from the central tower, and before the wooden shrine of Becket stood "Le Brets' rusty sword; and in the crypt, the gloom of the old Norman aisles was broken by the long array of lamps, suspended from rings still to be seen in the roof, each surmounted by its crown of thorns."

A.D. 1179, Lewis VII. of France accompanied Henry II. to the Cathedral, when the former offered upon the shrine of Becket a rich cup of gold, and gave that renowned jewel, "the regall," as it was called, of France, which Henry VIII. afterwards personally appropriated, and wore in a ring upon his thumb.

Through Canterbury passed Cœur-de-Lion, on his way to the Holy Land, doomed, after enduring the perils of the third Crusade, to languish long months in an Austrian dungeon. Here came he on his return to give thanks to "God and to St. Thomas," A.D. 1194.

Hither, A.D. 1209, came certain knights, creatures of King John, who drove with violence from out their monastry the Monks of St. Augustine—men who had dared, in defiance of the King, to carry out the Interdict which Pope Innocent III. had laid upon his kingdom.

John himself, that most restless of all Sovereigns, who during the sixteen years of his unfortunate and disgraceful reign, wandered up and down through his English

and Continental dominions, was often at Canterbury. He passed through this city on his journey to resign his crown to Pandulph, the Pope's Legate, at Dover. He had visited Canterbury a few years previous, all fresh from the murder of his nephew Arthur.

In the Cathedral at Canterbury, 1299, Edward I. celebrated his marriage with Margaret of Anjou, in the entrance towards the cloisters, near the door of the Martyrdom.

At Canterbury, on the morrow of the Epiphany, A.D. 1308, "twelve discreet and trustworthy men" had met at the appointment of the Sheriff of Kent by the command of Edward II. to receive secret orders on a certain perilous design. Previous to this the Sheriff had received a mysterious writ from the hands of a clerk of the King, who had thereupon bound him by oath to secresy. Another writ followed. It is produced sealed before the Sheriff and his knights. They solemnly swear to carry out its directions. When the seals are broken, and the document is read, they find that instantly they are to arrest the person of every Templar at Canterbury, to seize upon the house of the order in this city, and to despoil it of its goods for the King's use. Such was the despatch and secresy with which this and similar orders were executed on the same day throughout the kingdom, that few of the knights escaped. Thus was the order suppressed; and the grand master, treasurer, and many of the brotherhood perished on the scaffold.

Their chief establishment, the magnificent Temple in Fleet Street, London, was seized; its goods inventoried, then sold, or sequestered for the King's use. The articles found therein were of a costly description: such as chalices, spoons, phials, and thuribles of silver or of silver gilt; curtains, tapestry, and altar cloths of cloth of gold, or of the finest silk; crystal and enamelled candelabra, organs, and bells; service books, and the Holy Scriptures, jewelled and adorned with plates of silver gilt; also banners, staves of silver, ivory crosses, vases of choicest enamel, and the relics of saints preserved in shrines of silver, crystal, or ivory, including a portion of the true cross, some of the holy blood, and

the sword with which it was said St. Thomas of Canterbury had been slain.

Valuables of similar description, in proportionate degree, were doubtless found and seized at Canterbury.

The accusation of dark and mysterious crimes committed by the order was the ground of this sudden attack. Philip le Bel, King of France, had in the year previous carried out a similar "Crusade," and his son-in-law, Edward II., not unwillingly followed his example.

All alike were punished; the riches of the order stimulated the cupidity of its enemies; but it is worthy of record that, of all the brotherhood in England, John de Stoke, the treasurer, was the only one who made anything like a confession of guilt.

To Canterbury came the gallant Black Prince from his victory at Poictiers, accompanied by his prisoner, King John of France, A.D. 1357. Hither in other years he came, or rather was he borne, amid waving plumes in mournful procession, along the St. Dunstan's Road to Canterbury, as, led forth from the Westgate to meet his bier, there went, as we are told, two stately harnessed steeds, one caparisoned in black to follow his remains as the mighty lance-breaker of the tournay; the other, rich in war trappings and in defensive armour to represent him as the hero of the battle. Sable banners waved over the procession. His brass gauntlets, heaulme de lepard, the casque whose plume never bowed in submission to earthly foe, the leathern-covered shield of wood, the surcoat emblazoned with the arms of France and England, are still suspended in the Cathedral over his tomb—a sight of significance and interest alike to citizen and to visitor, for the memory of the Black Prince is one of those reminiscences which charm the true English heart.

Henry IV. visited Canterbury more than once, and his remains rest within the walls of the Cathedral.

Here fought, in Roman Catholic times, the partizans of rival churchmen; and as an Archbishop of York once contended with his brother of Canterbury for precedence in conclave and in council, so that even crosiers rose in hostile contention, in the courts and thoroughfares of Canterbury oft disputed friar, monk, and citizen.

Henry V. came here on his return from Agincourt, A.D. 1415. He had landed at Dover, and had been brought ashore on the shoulders of the sailors.* A.D. 1400, came hither Emanuel, Emperor of the East. A.D. 1417, came hither Sigismund, Emperor of the West. A.D. 1445, Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England, pays her devotions at the shrine of the Martyr, and is received by the Bailiffs of the city at the Hall in the Hospital at Harbledown.

Edward IV. and his Queen visit Canterbury, A.D. 1471, and, as related in the Paston Letters, p. 676, "moche oder pepell ar ryden, and goone to Canterbury never so moche pepill seyn in pylgrimage hereto at ones, as men seye." And yet the mighty change was approaching—the time coming, and within a century, when the shrine now sought with such homage and fervour was to be desolated and proscribed.

A year or two before this, July, 1469, Warwick, the "King Maker," landing with the Archbishop from Calais, called "upon all who loved the commons to meet them at Canterbury armed and arrayed to the best of their power." Edward shortly afterwards fell into the power of Warwick, but was eventually released in London.

On many occasions there was revelry and feastings. The ancient minstrel formerly attended with the acrobats and glee singers. In more recent times the waits and musicians ministered to the pleasure and entertainments of the spectators, whilst bonfires, horse-baiting, bull-baiting, and "cock-throwing" (this last amusement not put down until 1734), were in full force and popularity. The frequent processions, the parade of masques and pageants, had now passed away. No more were seen pilgrims, in motley garb, trudging on foot, with palmer's branch before them, or returning to their distant homes with the leaden tokens of the patron saint in their hat-bands or suspended from their necks. Knight and lady, parson and minstrel, reve and pardoner, all were gone; even the "poor clerk," with his

*During the war of Henry V. with France, the clergy of Canterbury exhibited their patriotism by raising forces to guard the south coast of the kingdom.

scanty cloak, and threadbare hose, pursued another avocation.

Kings, princes, prelates have passed away; the chiefs of rival creeds or hierarchies in the olden times; the eloquent, learned, yet uncompromising advocates of Rome or England are still and hushed, and side by side now sleep in common dust.

Many things in the material world have changed. We have new institutions and new laws—inventions in science surpassing the boldest speculations of the ancient philosophy, or the most golden dreams of the poet, reacting upon the habits, the manners, and the civilization of the community; yet the human heart has remained as it was a thousand years ago; the unsearchable mysteries of life are still unsolved, the solemnities of death unmitigated, the veil that shrouds the future as impenetrable as ever.

A.D. 1515, Wolsey's scarlet hat, with all the blessings Rome could bestow upon it, was brought to Canterbury under the charge of a special ambassador. Ipocras and rich liqueurs were quaffed upon the occasion. Eighteen years later the shrine of Becket was despoiled, the gold and precious stones filling two great chests, each of which required, according to Stow, six or seven men to convey it out of the church. A.D. 1573, Queen Elizabeth is entertained by Archbishop Parker at his palace at Canterbury, on the 7th of September in that year, "in my great hall, thoroughly furnished, with the Council, Frenchmen, ladies and gentlemen, and the Maior and his brethren," as the Archbishop himself narrates.

A.D. 1625, Charles I. conducts hither from Dover his bride, daughter of Henry IV. of France. Charles came again in 1641. A few years later Canterbury is involved in the general excitement of the times; and amid confused cries for the King and the Parliament, a portion of the walls of the city is battered down, and the leader of the forces of the Commonwealth, the General Fairfax, enters Canterbury in triumph. A.D. 1660 witnesses the arrival of Charles II. from the Continent, amid the acclamations of the people, on his way to the metropolis to claim the throne of his ancestors. A few years later

the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., passed through the city, the shadow of another change to come.

In the Paston Letters there are allusions to the "brothers Falconbrydge," whose rebellion is said to have caused the death of one of our Mayors*—Nicholas Faunt. "Thomas Faulconbrydge, hys hed was yesterday sett uppon London Brydge, looking into Kent warde, and Bastard Fauconbryge is owther hedyd (either beheaded) or lyke to be, and hys brother bothe. Some men sey he wolde have diservyd it, some say naye.—A.D. 1471."

* Faunt was Mayor 1469, so that he could not be implicated in this insurrection during his mayoralty.—Letter 483, vol. 2, p. 146.

Picture of the City.

THERE must have been several gardens, courts, open places, and orchards in or near the city. Among these we might note the burial grounds of the Black Friars, the Grey Friars, the precincts of St. Augustine, and the courts and tree-shaded retreats of the Cathedral. Oaten Hill, the two mounds of the Dane John, the river—the principal stream passing through the centre of the city—were conspicuous objects. Above the houses arose St. George's, Westgate, and other towers, with banners on festal days and holidays, the structures themselves provided with machicolations, loop holes, port-cullises, iron-bound gates, embattled and crenellated turrets, and other modes of offence and defence. Enclosing these were the city walls, somewhat lofty and conspicuous, at least on the southern and eastern sides, and surmounted with towers at stated distances. Around these walls branched off the river; on one side, sweeping by the Castle, it formed a defence to the north-west, whilst the main stream, entering not far above by the "Poor Priest's Hospital," flowed through the city. A portion of the current, however, was diverted through the moat or ditch under the Dane John walls, which, flowing round a considerable part of the city, entered the main stream at the water-lock near Abbot's Mill. The other branch of the Stour protected the walls by Westgate, where there was then no road-bridge, but perhaps a drawbridge—the Parliamentary forces, when they occupied Canterbury, having forded the stream near this locality. The Castle must have exhibited an imposing appearance, for it is nearly of the date and style of the edifice at Rochester, which so grandly sentinels the Medway.

The houses at Canterbury were for the most part lowly and insignificant. Some, however, were highly ornamented and heavily timbered—the eaves, and door-

posts, and gateways, exhibiting the profuse fancy of the Gothic architecture, in grotesque figures and emblems, a few of which still remain. Many of the public buildings were grand; and steeples, belfries, and glittering spires rose above the trees in every direction. In Leland's time there were thirteen churches within the walls and three without, besides which were once five other churches, long since demolished. There were hospitals at St. Margaret's, St. Lawrence, and the King's Bridge, the latter for poor pilgrims and wayfarers; a house belonging to the Black Prince's Chantry; and a home for the Order of Knights Templars. There were six gates. There were stone crosses almost in every main street; sanctuaries for wandering merchants, where saints were blessed, and wares disposed of. There were boats and barges gliding up and down the river, and passing the mills by locks. Swans, too, might be observed floating on the waters, guarded by their keepers called "swanupers," who were engaged and paid by the city authorities. The city walls, a portion of which had been added by Archbishop Sudbury, near Westgate, in the time of Richard II., were in the reign of Elizabeth efficiently repaired and adapted for fire-arms, although the archers still practised at the butts in the Dungeon Field. No doubt, however, the city, with many a quaint old court and curious building, with its ancient hostelries, and heavy timbered wide-projecting houses, its narrow close lanes and alleys, bearing the *romantic* epithets of "Spech House," "Little Pet," "Break Pot," "Lodingate," "Angel, &c., &c., exhibited a very different aspect to that of its present appearance. It had a district also called "Le Poulletrie"—the "Poultry." Canterbury was then for the most part comprised within the walls, although its liberties extended to the suburbs of Northgate, Wincheap, and part of some adjoining parishes—localities which, from the presence of hospitals and other public institutions, must have collected a considerable population around them even in those days. Toward the north and east might have been observed the Priories of Saint John and Saint Gregory; and in a more southerly direction the ancient tower of Saint Ethelbert, now entirely destroyed, and the gate of Saint

Augustine, which yet remains as a beautiful specimen of the decorated architecture. Beyond them, in the distance, rose St. Martin's Church, founded on the site, perhaps partly erected with the materials, of one of the oldest Christian temples in England; near it, in a quiet and secluded spot, arise the springs whose pure waters from the remotest ages have brought to the citizens health and a benediction.

To the above description we might add an account of Canterbury given in 1595, when, although the orders were suppressed, most of the religious and monastic houses were standing. "There were in the city of Canterbury, divided into three parts of the city, three Friars (Frieres), namely, the Augustine's, the Grey, and the Black or Begging Friars. There is one main street in the city, that goeth directly through the same city, coming in at Westgate, and going out at St. George's Gate, being the Eastgate. From this street every of these Friers had a street or lane leading by and without the walls, with ways from the midst or inner parts of them."

There was in Canterbury, some two hundred years since, existing a complete network of lanes and passages, not only as shown from occasional mention of them in the Burghmote Records, but from references to them in old deeds and leases referring to city properties.

Ecclesiastical and Municipal Feasts.

In Canterbury, at the enthronization of an Archbishop, the state was great and the ceremonies numerous. Even dukes were delighted to bear a dish before the great Metropolitan Prelate, and men of wealth and consideration were emulous to act as keepers and as porters. The noblemen, however, do not appear to have served without fees or recompence; and as the Barons of the Cinque Ports at a royal coronization claimed the silver staves of the canopy borne over the Sovereign, so the Earl of Stafford, lord of the Castle of Tonbridge, at the enthronization of Simon Sudbury, *tem.* Richard II., carried off for his fee 40 marks and a cup of silver, gilt.

At the enthronization of Boniface, Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, who owned the homage and service of 1111 knights' suits of the Archbishop for certain manors, had the privilege in return of acting as high steward, for which he took as fees seven competent robes of scarlet, 30 gall. wine, 30lbs. wax, his lights at the said feast, and livery of hay and oats for eighty horses, and the dishes and salts which stood before the Archbishop; and at the departure of the said Earl from the said service, he claimed entertainment for three days at the cost of the Archbishop at four of his next manors at four quarters of Kent, whensoever he will, "ad sanguinem minuendum," so that he came hither to sojourn with fifty horse only. Then, for the office of butler, he claimed seven other robes of scarlet, wine, wax, and livery of oats and hay, &c.; also, the cup wherewith the Archbishop was served, and the empty hogsheads, and likewise the casks of all that was drunk up "under the barr" the next day up to a certain number.

This was A.D. 1264, *tem.* Henry III. Strange state of society: the Earl with his fifty horsemen, and we know

not how many camp followers on foot, sojourning in various parts of Kent, letting of blood to reduce all gross humours of habit, and then returning again to feastings, "bearing off his cup and scarlet robes, surrounded by his idle and roystering followers." The installation of the Archbishop seemed attended on the second day of the feast with drinking unlimited "below the barr." We give a portion of the bill of fare at the enthronization of Archbishop Warham, A.D. 1504, nearly two hundred and fifty years later.* The first course was of fish, and we know not of how many sorts—ling, conger, lamphreys, pike, halibut, roasted eels, carp in "sharp sauce," with that delicacy, a "fritter dolphin," † whatever it might be. The second course consisted almost entirely of fish also, such as turbot, "sturgeon in foyle," with welks, carps in "arminie." Oranges, we read, were introduced at this feast. In the third course, the Archbishop is solemnly served with ipocras. ‡ The "surnap (napkin) being then brought "with courtesy," the prelate washed, and said grace, standing. In conclusion, after the Archbishop had been supplied with confects, sugar plates, and other subtleties, and ipocras again, he departed to his chamber.

The wine supplied for similar festivities may be described as red wine, claret, malmsey, wine de Reane, hock, and a white wine for cooking.

Amongst the provisions, poultry and game were in abundance.

At the enthronization of George Nevil, Archbishop of York, which may give an idea of these more than regal banquets, there was furnished an enormous quantity of supplies:—namely, 300 quarters of wheat, 300 tuns of ale, 100 tuns of wine, 1 pipe of ipocras, 104 oxen, 6 *wild* bulls (were these some of the savage little British cattle still preserved on Chillingham Park Northumberland, N. B. ?), 1,000 muttons, 304 calves 2,000 pigs, 2,000 geese, 400 swans, besides a vast quantity of game and poultry. Amongst the birds con-

* Battely, Appen., No. x, b. p. 21.

† Seals, as well as dolphins, were served up at one of the Archæopiscopal feasts. See Dr. Hook's "Lives," vol. 3.

‡ Wine made of claret, or white wine, and spices, and strained through a flannel bag.—*Bailey.*

sidered edible were peacocks, cranes, herons, bitterns, egretts, teal, mallard, woodcocks, curlews, &c.

Some of the above do not testify to a very refined taste. At this feast, two earls, three barons, and a vast number of squires and gentlemen were present. A.D. 1503, the price of 12 capons was 10*s.*; 6*s.* was paid for a dozen of teal, and 2*s.* 1*d.* for three loads of sand to be laid in the street when the Lord Archbishop went bare (barefooted?) from his lodgings.

At city festivities, 39th Elizabeth, Edward Holland, and three years later, Robert Mason, are appointed cooks to the Mayor, and "such of the Aldermen as may need them." They were to receive 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly from the Chamberlain. On the 19th July, the year previous, the Mayor pays for a banquet sent by him to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1638, the Corporation have two venison feasts. We have notices of civic feasts from time to time, but at very moderate cost. Thus, 1647, a certain Walter Baker is paid 15*s.* 4*d.* for a banquet given on Ascension Day to the Mayor and Aldermen. A century later, however, prices seem to have made a considerable advance. What was the reason we know not, nor whether the Corporation had been treated in a niggardly manner by some of their Mayors; but on the 9th November, 1802, in comparatively modern times, in confirmation of the report of a committee specially appointed, they resolve as follows:—"That in case any Mayor shall neglect or refuse to invite the Mayor (*sic*), the Recorder, the Aldermen, and Common Council, and others of his fellow citizens to dine with him on the day he shall be sworn into his office of Mayor, or to give his invitation at least seven days before the 29th September, the Mayor (he could not, of course, be left out), and the three senior Aldermen, and six senior Common Councilmen, shall be a committee to make such invitation, and to provide a public entertainment by a dinner, and that the sum of 75*l.* shall be deducted out of the Mayor's salary in defraying the expenses thereof." Mayor or no Mayor inviting, the Corporation were determined to dine. But what a per-centage out of the Mayor's salary! And when we consider by another resolution, or rather estimate made about the same time, the following expenditure

was considered to be a necessary outlay out of the Mayor's salary, it seems somewhat arbitrary. The Mayor had to provide:—

	£	s.	d.
Election supper	15	15	0
Blue Coat Boys	10	10	0
Sergeants at Mace	18	18	0

This, with the deduction as above, leave the Mayor just 9*l.* 17*s.* for all other expenses, charities, and subscriptions. The Mayor's salary was then 130*l.*

The Blue Coat Boys and their master breakfasted at the Mayor's every Sunday morning, and were allowed bread and cheese and beer.

A.D. 1638, the Mayor's salary was 100*l.* per annum; in 1792, it was 130*l.* August 29, 1815, the Mayor's salary was reduced to 60*l.*; he was excused the inauguration entertainment on the eve of his election, but he had to give an Easter supper to the Upper House, a supper to the Blue Coat Boys (16), the Sergeants at Mace, and a public breakfast on the election of members of Parliament. This order for the reduction of the Mayor's salary to 60*l.* did not long remain in force, Alderman Jones, at the expiration of his office the very next year (1816), receiving 84*l.* In 1808, Alderman Mount received 130*l.*; but we find, from some unexplained cause, that Alderman Cowtan, in 1809, and his successors, receive 210*l.* in salaries as Mayors. In 1815 the salary was reduced to 60*l.*, the grand inauguration dinner being omitted; but again, in 1831, it was raised, Alderman H. Cooper receiving 100*l.* Subsequently, after the Municipal Reform Act, Alderman W. Plummer had, in one of his mayoralty years, to perform the duties without any salary at all. It was lately raised at a jump from 50*l.* to one hundred guineas.

Having said enough on this subject, we must not omit to allude to a Canterbury product—brawn. This, at least from time immemorial, seemed to be a home manufacture. Even Thorne, in his Chronicle, p. 2010, gives an account of a feast made, A.D. 1309, by Ralf de Born, Prior of Saint Augustine, in which he speaks of the Canterbury brawn (scutes), shields costing 4½*d.* each. In the same account a pig cost sixpence.

The indebtedness of the Corporation was at times fearful. In 1586-96, they mortgage most of their estates to Mark Berry, and on more than one occasion pawn their plate and insignia.

About A.D. 1698, the Corporation were again in pecuniary straits. It had been customary on the "Accounting Day," when the Chamberlain, formerly the "Cofferer," rendered his annual statement of receipts and disbursements, for some sort of dinner or repast to be provided on the occasion. However, it was then ordered that the Counting Day be held on the 23rd of December, and be without a charge for dinner or bread, and that it commence at four or five o'clock in the morning—rather dark, no doubt. Two years before this period, A.D. 1696, it is ordered, "that 50*l.* belonging to Cogan's Hospital, and raised for its repairs, and now in the hands of the Chamberlain, be borrowed by the city." Was it ever repaid? By another order the Mayor's salary remaining unpaid, the Corporation allow that official 5 per cent. per annum until the debt be liquidated.

A.D. 1701, the Chamberlain was allowed a salary of 6*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, and, on "Counting Day," a dinner. In 1741 all dinners are ordered to be paid for out of private funds. Scarcely more than a century before this period, the Corporation had received from the Crown a share of the spoliation of the religious houses in their neighbourhood, obtaining out of the plunder more than ninety-eight tenements belonging to Saint Augustine's Monastery alone. By a charter of Henry III. they had acquired all the lands and holdings in the city previously belonging to the Crown, subject to the payment of a fee farm rent of 60*l.* per annum, the whole of which, after a time, they got remitted by instalments.

As a case of individual distress, we must notice that of Alderman Blotting, who, by a Burghmote order, was allowed the money contributed for the poor out of the poor box. This Alderman, amongst his other pursuits, was gibbet-maker to the Corporation, at which occupation he did not appear to have got rich. We have seen a gibbet of his construction lying in the ground-floor of the Guildhall.

A.D. 1749, the Corporation was obliged to borrow money on bond to pay the Mayor's salary.

Mr. Hasted, in his History of Kent, in the eleventh volume (2nd edition), relates an account supplied him by Mr. Bunce of several feasts given by the Corporation from time to time to royal and other persons. Details would weary; yet, as many of the entries contain valuable notes of the prices of provisions and commodities, and reveal glimpses of the habits and modes of existence of our forefathers, I trust to be allowed giving a few particulars.

A.D. 1461, Edward IV. visits Canterbury. He then receives a present of cattle, a rather strange donation, namely, twenty wethers, costing 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; four swans, 13*s.* 4*d.*; several capons at 2*s.* a couple. The next year the King again visits Canterbury. On this occasion a rather singular entry occurs, namely, "Paid for making 'Le Hale' in the Blean"—a hall or temporary residence, or perhaps only a banqueting room. But where situated? The nearest locality to the Blean would be in the lands lying about Harbledown. This mention of a Hall in the Blean, where royalty was accommodated, occurs several times; and on one occasion a tent is alluded to as the temporary residence of a royal person. At this time a piece of Sandwich cord was bought for the Hall, and china, costing 1*s.*, was given to His Majesty. A flagon, and a pint and a half of tyre, cost 19*d.*, a flagon, and a pint of malmsey, 1*s.* 6*d.*; more wine is added, the whole costing 12*s.* 6*d.*

In the accounts for the year appear the items:—For one saddle with harness, and one silver gilt cup, weight 30 oz., cost 17*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, given to the King when he visited the tomb of St. Thomas. 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is also presented to the King in gold. For the work done at the Hall in Le Blean, 2*s.* 4*d.* is paid. Rushes and raw cloth brought from Fulham are also supplied.

A.D. 1469, the King and Queen, Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, who were very popular with the citizens, came again to Canterbury, and were received in the "Hall" as before. It is then called the Tentorium, Tent, or Pavilion. Their Majesties are presented with wine, "two dozen of choynes," and bread is sup-

plied. Again they come in 1471, at Easter and at Michaelmas, and are well treated as before.

A.D. 1475, whilst the King pays another visit, the city give an entertainment at the "Chequers" to the Earl of Essex, Treasurer of England, and other noblemen, with wine and costly fare, the whole expense of which, with that then delicacy, a porpoise, and eight pence paid to a cook for dressing the dinner, came to 15*s.* 8½*d.* The King visited the city by night, and the porch of St. Andrew (the church then stood in the middle of the street) was illuminated with four pounds of wax lights, costing one shilling.

Again, in 1482, the King was entertained at the Hall in the Blean, which, we are informed, the city held on paying a composition of sixpence. It appears the King and Queen were accustomed to reside in the "Hall" in the day time, as there is a mention of keepers and labourers employed by the city in work that was requisite. His Majesty is presented on his last visit with a double-gilt silver bowl, weighing 32 ounces at 6*s.* 8*d.* the ounce, in which were placed nobles and royals to the value of 20*l.* Total amount, with the bowl, 32*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* No wonder His Majesty paid such frequent visits.

A.D. 1470, the city had contributed 251*l.* to the King's expenses. In this year a great brazen gun is brought from Blackheath to Canterbury. The gates are watched, and the city put into defence. The Mayor goes to London, 1470, to attend at the King's Council, doubtless respecting the liberties of the city. Edward, three years later, endeavours to resume the 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, third part of the fee farm which he had relinquished to the city. The King's messenger had, in 1470, carried off one of the city seals, which however, the next year, is returned by a herald. For what purpose it was taken away we are unable to determine.* Other persons besides royalty were feasted, as, in 1462, the Duchess of York and the Duchess of Exeter are regaled at the city expense. Amongst many other things, 1*s.* 8*d.* is given for 100 oranges and bread and wine to the Lord Chancellor.

Richard III. visits the city soon after his coronation;

* It is said the King temporarily withdrew the city charter.

but refusing the city's gift of 50 marks in money, he is presented with four large fatted boars, twenty fatted rams, and twenty of the fattest capons—a rather extraordinary offering, especially if it were expected the King partook of the boars and the rams. They cost altogether 11*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*; and the purse (1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, extra) which was to have contained the 50 marks, was given to the Bishop of London.

A.D. 1494, the Corporation present a purse of gold, containing nobles worth 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, to Queen Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII., the first year after her coronation. Also a piece of plate, their united value being 18*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*

We give the charges of some items of a dinner at the Mayor's house, circa 1500, when a Master Poynnings, sent by the King, was the city guest:—A vessel of beer, 18*d.*; a bushel of flour, 1*s.*; a gallon and a pottle of malmsey, 2*s.*; good ale consumed costs 8*d.*; and a sack of coals, 3*d.*; two gallons of bastard, 2*s.* 8*d.*; sugar, 8½*d.*; eggs, 6*d.*; ginger, mustard, and salt, 4*d.*; meat oil, 2*d.*; and rose water, 1*d.* Of course, there were edibles besides these items, such as numerous baked meats, and a variety of fish.

The expenses of a journey to London for one person like Mr. Mayor, were then:—For a horse to Rochester, 1*s.*; from Rochester to London, 16*d.*; breakfast at Dartford, and horse meat, 4*d.*; supper and drink at London, 6*d.*; dinner and supper, 8*d.*; a bed for seven nights, 7*d.*

The Mayor the same year stayed at the Harp in Fleet Street; and being desirous to confer with Sir Matthew Brown respecting a Star Chamber business, a breakfast was provided for the latter at Westminster, consisting of two geese, 16*d.*; a neck of mutton, 3*d.*; bacon, 4*d.*; chickens, 5*d.*; dressing and roasting the meat, 5*d.*; total, 1*l.* This occurred while Mr. Mayor was in London, and "weening" to the city that he might speak to the King.

Amongst other notices of entertainments, we find one given at the Court Hall, 1501:—For making of vestments, and for the tower in the Hall, 10*s.*; for 12 ells of canvas, for three vestments, 3*s.*; for painting the same, 3*s.*; for meat and drink for two men and for the candle by the space of six days and six nights, 6*s.* 8*d.*; for the King's garments and the henshemennys (henchman),

silver papers, gold papers, and sinoper papers for the same, and monks' frocks and other things necessary thereto, 6*s.* 8*d.*; for heading the henshemen, and gilding of a star, 5*s.* This indicated some sort of pageant. In the same year occurs a similar series of items for an entertainment:—To six carpenters for 2½ days' work, 7*s.* 6*d.*; for two hoops for the Castle, 2*d.*; nails, 8*d.*; to a painter for painting the "Castle" in the Court Hall, and his colours, 3*s.* 4*d.*; for drapery for the *best* (bust ?) of one of the three kings of (Cologne ?). At this entertainment, whatever it was, drink is provided for the servants of the Prior of Christ Church, and for those of my Lord of St. Augustine. There was also a *rynge* of ale paid for the same night at the Swan, 14*d.*, and the players had a supper, &c.

Again, A.D. 1513, we find 2*s.* 10*d.* is paid for making a tent in the Blean against the King's coming; and as bread, beer, and ale are bought at Harbledown for the Corporation when they rode to meet the King, we presume we are not far out in considering the Hall, or its substitute the tent, was in that neighbourhood.

We hear shortly of the city soldiers, "guards" they were called; they wore red crosses on their coats, had corvyshe shoes, and their coats were of green cloth.

Ipocras about this time cost 4*s.* 3*d.* per gallon.

Mr. Hasted gives an account of St. Thomas' Pageant, which we shall omit, having alluded to it in another place, and the account having been either as a whole or a part printed three or four times within the few last years.* The accounts of the Chamber, years 1503 and 1504, refer to it.

A.D. 1512, the tent in the Blean is purchased for Henry VIII., when he was in progress to France.

Catherine, the Queen, is presented with a cup of silver gilt, with the city arms engraved upon it, and filled with new nobles. The cup, weighing 31½ ounces, cost 4*s.* 10*d.* an ounce, being a less amount per ounce than hitherto expended. The servants of the King and Queen receive presents; beer is given to the King's guard at Harbledown, and 10*d.* to a person going to Ashford to provide two great oxen to be given to the King,—A curious gift,

* *Arch* Album, Arch. Cantiana, vol. 12, &c.

certainly, but in keeping with some previous presentations. The King could not take the cattle to France with him, probably he had them killed, and in some way or other the beef distributed.

1513 we hear again of the tent, and 2*s.* 10*d.* is expended for making it against the King's coming. Rewards are given to the King's servants; the waits receive 8*d.*; trumpeters and henchmen 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and to the Queen's footmen lodging at St. Augustine's, 4*s.* The King and Queen are also said to be lodging at the Abbey. There is a charge for the refreshment of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, when they rode to Harbledown "to meet the King's grace."

The year previous, the Town Clerk is paid 3*s.* 8*d.* for riding to London to procure gunpowder for the city, and 3*s.* 4*d.* is given to a pursuivant bringing a commission, "That Frenchmen should wear white crosses." Warlike preparations seem in hand, for a certificate is sent to the Privy Council, stating how many men the city can send to war, and how many "harness."

A.D. 1513–14, the King's sister, Mary, is expected at Canterbury, and provision is made for her reception, *viz.* 10 lobsters, 3 turbots, &c.; and the Town Clerk is paid one shilling for riding to Dover in this matter to meet the Queen. No great extravagance this certainly, and a precedent for all future Town Clerk's charges as far as travelling expenses are concerned. The duties of this worthy official seemed in former days to be infinite and multifarious, he was constantly going journeys.

1516, 4*s.* is paid for ipocras per gallon, the same being given to an ambassador who brings over Cardinal Wolsey's hat from Rome. 6*s.* 8*d.* is paid to a pursuivant for bringing a letter to Mister Mayor announcing the birth of a Prince.

1517, the King and Queen visit the city, and again the next year, attended by the Cardinal.

A.D. 1521, the King and Emperor arrive. The streets are strown with sand, and the city officers have new gabardines, which cost 6*s.* 8*d.* each.

Five pence is paid for three long bags of canvas "to contain the King's money," and 1*s.* for a riband of silk to bind the keys of Westgate when presented to the

Emperor—either an empty compliment on the part of Mr. Mayor, or an astounding piece of servility, perhaps a combination of both. A canopy is hired for the occasion from the sexton of St. Dunstan's in the East, London; and over this comes great grief, for the King's footmen claim, when used, the canopy as their perqusite, and wish to carry it off. By "great means" (payments we guess) it is had again; however, the staves of the said canopy have to be regilded, for the white lire and silk points of the same were injured by the haste of the King's footmen in cutting off the canopy from the staves.

5*l.* 9*d.* is paid for making one of the little crosses in the top of the Cross at the Bullstake. The customs of the city are proclaimed at the Cross at the beginning of every year.

A.D. 1543, a miracle play is acted, and 10*d.* is paid for making of clothes for the tormentors in the play. These players were brought from London at an expense of 1*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* Drink was given to them, and 10*d.* in the Court Hall, where they played with my Lord Warden's players.

1558, Queen Mary passes through the city, and is presented with 20 angels, worth 10*s.* each.

1569, a dinner is given to the judges of assizes, at a cost of 10*l.* 14*s.*

A man wades in the city foss or ditch to catch carp, for which he is paid 1*s.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London receive presents, the one 12 couple of capons and 100 pippins, the other 1 gallon of ipocras, 1 gallon of sack, a box of wafers, and 100 pippins.

A.D. 1571, an odd entry occurs: Paid 9*d.* for *writing* papers for witches, and to the keeper's man for "ringing the bason."* Mother Hudson, of St. Mary Dungeon (St. Mary Bredin), is presented by the grand jury "for they vehemently suspect her to be a witch."

1572, the Mayor is displaced from his office by order of the Privy Council. This in Elizabeth's reign too!

1579, the first notice of a letter post occurs, a person being paid 3*s.* 4*d.* for carrying letters to London.

1582, Queen Elizabeth visits the city. She came in

* Basoin, a musical instrument, a rough sort of music.

1572 or 1573. A purse of money, 20*l.* in a silver cup, is given to her, and presents are bestowed upon the marshalmen, pursuivants, clerks, noblemens' trumpeters, Her Majesty's Black Guards, &c., &c.

1587, the celebrated Earl of Leicester receives presents, namely 20*s.* for March pane,* "wrought and fair gilded," with four pounds and two ounces of perfumed quinces, and a quantity of perfumed cherries and spiced comfits. 23*s.* is paid for white ipocras, a much costlier liquor apparently than ipocras at 4*s.* This wine, not being perfumed or spiced, is not given to the Earl, but to the Lord Baron's son and daughter on their marriage.

1613, King James I. and the Prince, and his sister Elizabeth and her husband, arrive at Canterbury, being received by the Mayor and Corporation in state at Westgate, whilst the city waits play "loud music" on the top of All Saints Church.

Orations, which King James dearly loved, are made by the Recorder to each of the royal personages, and to the Palgrave, as they sat in their carriages.

"All the shot, eighty in number, with their halberts, and in their red soldiers' coats, with new hats and feathers, line the streets on either side from Westgate to Christ Church and to the Deanery, where the King and party lodged for three days. Bread, beer, and wine were contributed.

In the morning Prince Charles went home to France; and at the Dean's request, the Corporation lend a pike whereon to hang a colour "to know which way the wind did shift well," for the Palgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, his wife, to take shipping at Margate.

A.D. 1651, the Corporation give a dinner at the expense of 20*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* to the Lord General Cromwell upon his passing through the city.

A.D. 1660, Charles II. visits the city, and is received with great respect. He lodges for some time at St. Augustine's Palace. A gold cup of the value of 200*l.* is presented to him, being the voluntary gift of a subscription raised by the citizens. The Mayor and Com-

* March Pane, Massepain, Maryapane, is a sort of confection made of almonds, sugar, &c.—*Bailey.*

monalty give gratuities to the servants of His Majesty, and of the Duke of York.

The following year the King, Queen, and Queen Mother came to the city. Gifts are distributed amongst retainers, pursuivants, the yeomen, harbingers, the way-maker, the yeomen of the field, the jester, &c., to the amount of 53*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*

1669, the Mayor and Corporation purchase plate as a gift to the Queen on her passage through the city to Dover, and prepare a feast; but Her Majesty's stay is so short that the plate is not presented to her. The Corporation return the same to the vendor at a loss of 10*l.*

1671, the King and Queen pass through on their way to Dover, and a banquet of sweetmeats is presented to the Queen.

At a banquet, A.D. 1673, given to the Duke and Duchess of York, the prices of some of the viands range as follows:—7½ lbs. of dried suckets* of all sorts, 25*s.*; 12 lbs. of green citron, 48*s.*; 26*s.* for 4½ lbs. quince paste; 5 lbs. raspberry past (paste), 20*s.* (very high); 3½ lbs. candid oringo,† 21*s.*; dried plums (5½ lbs.), 26*s.* 3*d.*; rock candles (2½ lbs.), 12*s.*; Savoy ambers (6¾ lbs.), 13*s.* 6*d.*; Prince's biscuits (7 lbs.), 10*s.* 6*d.*; 9 gall. white wine and claret, 36*s.*

We do not know how to account for the above expenditure at what would be considered as "great prices" even in these days.

A.D. 1689, King William and Mary being proclaimed, a feast is held at the Red Lion Tavern. Here the viands seem, though not much less costly, more substantial. Things indeed were now very much changed since the time when Mr. Mayor and his brethren could have a banquet for 13*s.* 4*d.* The prices charged appears somewhat extraordinary. 2 doz. and 2 fowls, 2*l.* 12*s.*; anchovies, 25*s.*; a loin and a rump of beef, 2*l.*; 2 doz. and a half of neats' tongues, 3*l.* 15*s.*; bread and beer, 2*l.* 17*s.*; and for broken glasses and tobacco—the first mention we find of "this weed"—16*s.* 2*d.* The wine

* Sucketts, a sort of sweetmeat.—*Bailey.*

† Candid oringo. The herb oringo, sea holm, or sea holly.—*Bailey.* Howlett says that the root is preserved and eaten when made candid.

drunk by the whole company cost 9*l.* 2*s.* The soldiers and the ringers to the Cathedral secure gratuities also.

A.D. 1694, another banquet is given to the Queen and King. The next year the King passes through the city on his way to the Continent.

1700, the King stops at the Deanery. Six years later the Duke of Marlborough being in the city, is invited by the Mayor and Aldermen to a banquet.

A.D. 1720, George I. passes through Canterbury, as also in 1721.

A.D. 1728, George II. is at Canterbury, and waited on by the Corporation.

A.D. 1798, the Prince of Wales (George IV.), having taken up his residence at Charlton Place, near Bourne, the Mayor and Corporation present him with an address, and request him to accept the freedom of the city in a box of gold. Upon an invitation from the Mayor elect, Matthew William Sankey, the Prince accepts an invitation to a feast at the Assembly Rooms, "in a style of magnificence highly creditable to the loyalty and hospitality of the chief magistrate."

Travelling a long way back, we find as early as 1402 there is mention of an entertainment to the judges and their associates given by the city at a cost of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

This must be our last record of city feastings in "Canterbury in the Olden Time." No doubt our readers have had enough of them.

Perquisites.

We may here note how uncertain at these feasts were the wages, and how undefined was the recompence of retainers, serving men, and others.

"Perquisite" was the general word. Even the Queens of olden days had their perquisites, and retained cities given them to supply them with trinquets, or with waist girdles. *Perquisite* ruled the high and the low, and was the grand idea which regulated the greed of men. The noble Earl, who in some capacity or another attended Bishops and Archbishops, claimed his dues; and as soon as the feast concluded, at least as soon as the parting blessing had been said, he joined in the general

scramble. He carried off the cup which stood before "His Grace," the silver salts and silver dishes, and even some of the empty wine casks. His followers were nowise behind hand in securing their rights. Then again when the Earl, surrounded by his retainers, went to feast at the episcopal seats in the county, at four different quarters of the year, we may guess at the occasional havoc and confusion.

It was the fashion in those times to be attended with a vast troop of followers, servants, and others, ill-paid, half fed, rapacious, perhaps somewhat like clients who flocked after Sallust and other knights through the streets of Rome, or the retainers of Earl Doorm in Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." Some were paid, others received no pay, and depended for food upon the crumbs they gathered beneath the tables of the great. They adopted "My Lord's livery," or that of some "worshipful man," or suspended over their soiled and ragged clothes little scutcheons of brass (several have been found at Canterbury) emblazoning "My Lord's" armorial devices.

Thus we see, at one of the civic entertainments given to royalty, how his Highness' footmen, as soon as dinner was over, tugged at and contended for the canopy which the Corporation had *hired* at a great expense in London. They cut off the staves, doing considerable damage, and finally carrying off the canopy as their perquisite. Doubtless the staves were claimed by another set of thieves.

Something of these inconveniences and annoyances remain under another name, when gentlemen give banquets provided by hired caterers, who watch the guests, cut the untouched cakes, decant superfluous bottles, and manifest various little peculiarities, to make large their bills.

At the enthronization of an Archbishop of Canterbury, Bartholemew de Baddlesmere, in right of the manor of Hatfield, claimed the furniture of His Grace's bedroom. Another claimant carried off all the knives used at the table. Roger de Kirkly, as cupbearer, bore off the goblet from which the Archbishop drank.

Miscellaneous.

The Records of Canterbury, the Chamberlains' accounts, and various documents contain numerous entries of payments to mechanics and others, which may give some idea of the amount of wages which our industrious classes received some centuries ago.

Saint Thomas' pageants, on more than one occasion, afforded much employment, and occasioned considerable outlay; however, most of these expenses have been given elsewhere. In speaking of the rates of wages, we ought to collate them with the value of money, and the prices of provisions at the period given. The price of provisions varied greatly; a time of plenty succeeded a time almost of famine, and wheat bought at 2*s.* a qr. (as in A.D. 1243), at other periods attained a price comparatively equal to ten pounds per qr. of present money, a price productive of far-spread want and misery. Wheat again 2*s.* per qr. 1255, rose to 20*s.* and 24*s.* in 1257.* A.D. 1393 to A.D. 1450, the price of wheat varied from 4*s.* to 12*s.* per qr. at Canterbury. Wages varied, but in no proportion to the cost of food. Thus, in Edward IV.'s time, A.D. 1480, the pay of a tiler at Canterbury was fourpence a day. In 1520, it had increased a penny; but in 1546, it was at least one third more—a master and his man together receiving one shilling. A carpenter at the same date earned eightpence, and a painter, denominated in the Records a "dawber," a name not then applied offensively, received with his apprentice one shilling.

In 1548 the prices of wages had again slightly advanced.

In the Chamberlain's expenses, which recount the cost of constructing a ducking stool in 1520, we find the carpenter and his man receiving about twelvepence between them per diem.

Smith's work, however, did not seem very expensive, as half a hundred of threepenny nails cost 1½*d.* A load of timber was carried from the wood into Canterbury

* Dr. Hook's "Lives," 11, p. 286.

for fourpence. In the 35th year of Henry VIII., sixpence was paid for the grist of a quarter of corn.

Provisions at this period were not costly, for we find at a feast given at the "Lyon" for "Maister" Mayor, Messieurs Hales, Wore, and others of the Aldermen being present, the whole expense of the entertainment was but 5*s.* 7*d.*

At a date somewhat later, the price of sugar was fourpence a pound, raisins or currants 1*d.*, nutmegs 2½*d.* the ounce, ginger a penny, and cinnamon fourpence per ounce.

The Rev. W. Harrison, as quoted by Holinshed, who lived in the time of Shakespeare's youth, circa 1575, complains that sugar had then risen to 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb., which he refers to as an exorbitant sum. The same writer, enumerating what he calls "white meats," that is, milk, butter, and cheese, "which were in *old* times the main fare of the better classes, were *now*, though very dear, eaten only by the poor, whilst all other persons eat flesh, and wild and tame fowls; and as to the nobility, whose cooks were for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and Strangers, there was no end to their number of dishes. Every day they had beef, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, coney, capon, and pig, together with red and fallow deer, fish, and wild fowl."

More strangely still does Harrison lament "that at their tables, instead of silver vessels, pots, goblets, and jugs, they must have Venice glass of all forms." This taste seems also to have descended to "the lower class," as he calls them, "who were used to drink out of wooden or treen* bowls."

Extravagance in dress, that ever-popular theme of reproof with the clergy and the serious minded, is loudly inveighed against by the worthy Harrison, and rightly so if we refer to any book of ancient costume, and therein note the "horned head dresses" of the ladies, of which there is an example on the incised brass of Jane Kerelt in Ash Church, in the time of Henry V., and to the party-coloured costume of the men, with their slashed trousers, and their long shoes with the points of their toes triced by a chain up to their knees.

* Wooden also, *tree* made.

"Now we have," says Harrison, "the Spanish guise; now the French toies, (toys?); now the high Almaine fashion; now the Turkish manner, Moresco gowns and *barbarian* sleeves, so that the English (man) with this fickleness and folly looks more like a dog in a doublet than anything else."

This good, honest, plain-speaking parson held preferments as Rector of Radwont and Vicar of Wimbish *conjointly*, bringing him in yearly the revenue of 32*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Torture.

One of the worst phases of these Tudor times was the use of torture as applied to accused persons. A fellow named Thomas Weston was then infamous for his practices on Popish recusants—he put hundreds to death; and this "rack master," as he was called, boasted that he had pulled many a prisoner a foot longer than God had made him!

Examples nearly as bad existed, A.D. 1546, in the time of Henry VIII. when Rich, afterwards Lord Rich, assisted Wriotesly in stretching the poor Anne Askew on the rack, "until she was well nigh dead."

In the reign of Charles I. the torture of accused persons ceased to be exercised, on the declaration of one of the judges "that it was contrary to the law."

James I., however, had delight in secretly superintending this practice in the Tower, listening from a hiding place to the groans, and noting by furtive glances the contortions of the sufferers.

The Stuart Kings inherited from their predecessors a sanguinary code of laws. In the time of the Tudors, humanity was considered a weakness. Women guilty of murdering their husbands were burnt alive; murderers were hanged in chains; other offenders were dragged over the River Thames at the tail of boats; the slightest theft was followed by capital punishment; witches and heretics were burnt—"served them right too!" probably would have exclaimed some Harrison; and Canterbury, with a population not one-fourth of its present number, had two, if not three, hanging places within its boundaries.

A.D. 1529, there was set up a gibbet at Holland Way; A.D. 1576, there was a gibbet at Oaten Hill, then called "Ote Hill;" and about Edward IV.'s time a gibbet existed at Chalder's Elm, at or near Fordwich Lane, beyond St. Martin's Hill.

Holinshead* relates that, at a Council held at Oxford A.D. 1222, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, two unfortunate fanatics, pretending to be our Lord, and exhibiting as proofs the stigmata on their hands and feet, were *crucified*—nailed on crosses of wood, and so left to expire! They had heightened their offence by setting up as reformers, and denouncing ecclesiastical abuses.

The right of sanctuary was abolished in the reign of Henry VIII.

Pillory.

The pillory, a now obsolete and discountenanced mode of punishment, to which good as well as bad men have been subjected, was used formerly in Canterbury.

A.D. 1524, a man was punished by the omnipotent Star Chamber. He was set up in the Market Place at Canterbury, with a paper attached to him, on which was inscribed, "This is a false, perjured, and forsworn man!" Rather a sameness of meaning in the epithets, certainly! He had to stand on a table until market was over; thence he was led to Westgate, and so thrust out of the city, with the same paper on his head, whereof the account says, "If he be proud, he may go home and show himself amongst his neighbours."

This order was executed by the Mayor, Sheriff, Serjeants, and officers with their great bills and weapons.* A.D. 1535, 14*s.* 8*d.* is charged in the accounts for bringing a heretic from London, and 2*s.* 1*d.* for one and a half load of wood, together with a pennyworth of gunpowder, a staple, and an eightpenny stake for his burning.

The goods and chattels of felons were claimed by the Corporation, or compounded for, as, in A.D. 1716, the son of a certain Thomas Bell, a man passing rich, who was hanged for murder, paid 300*l.* as an acquittance to secure the remainder of the convict's property—a little

* Quoted by Southey, "Omniana," vol. 1, p. 274.
† Hasted, 632.

God-send for the Corporation. Thus, three or four centuries ago, the furniture and domestic utensils of our forefathers, except in the houses and in the mansions of the nobility and gentry, were extremely limited and simple. Truckle beds seem to have been in general use, where beds, in the ordinary sense of the term, existed. A large cupboard or a wardrobe might be found occasionally, holding all that could be stowed away in it.

The kitchen utensils were mostly of wood or earthenware, or leather; the "black jack," for example, was a leathern vessel for holding liquids. A large brass pot was indispensable in every household. In this was put a medley of food—bread, vegetables, and, sometimes meat; when cooked, the family sat around it, and helped themselves by turns with forks or spoons until the simple and homely provisions were consumed.

Hops were introduced near Canterbury in the reign of Henry VII.

In the inns and hostelries and the great mansions the cook appeared "with his long ladle," as Chaucer informs us, now to measure out the stews or broths, and now carrying his long spit, which, in the houses of great lords and "worshipful men," was often of silver. He passes the spit, bearing the joint on it all hot and smoking, along the table amongst the file of guests, each man cutting off in turn a slice for his own trencher.

So important, however, was the brass pot, and so universal in use, that it is specially mentioned as a bequest in the wills dating in the 14th & 15th centuries. In certain wills in the archives at the Guildhall, Canterbury, the aforesaid brass pot is specially recorded.

John Webbe, A.D. 1510, bequeaths to Agnes Whiting, amongst other things, "a great brass pot, and a great pan of brass."

John Sybly, 1519, gives to Elizabeth, his wife, "a brass pot."

Of these wills, one of the earliest date is that of Asa de Bishopsgate. It is in Latin, and dated A.D. 1307.

The will of Juliana de Leybourne, A.D. 1328, is in Norman French.

The will of John Webbe, quoted as above, is in English, but with a Latin introduction.

In an account of the household expenses of Richard de Swingfield, Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 1289–90, we find the Bishop had on Fridays and fasting days, herrings, salt and fresh eels, and lampreys, wine and beer. This diet was occasionally varied with conger eel. On a Sunday, the Bishop's household were served with pork, mutton, beef, fowls, and larks. The spices given out were saffron, ginger, pepper, galingale, and cinnamon. On Wednesdays, the Lenten diet returns; but on the Feast of All Saints the Bishop had venison, and probably a great entertainment, for does, fowls, geese, partridges, wild fowl, *one* calf, that cost twenty pence, and pork and mutton.

Lanes.

It may amuse our readers, perhaps, if we give a list of the lanes and bye-ways which once existed in Canterbury; some are of curious and romantic signification.

Little Pet Lane, Angel Lane, in St. Andrew; Brewer's Lane, in the Friars; Maden, perhaps Maiden, Lane, White Friars; Break Pot Lane; St. Andrew's Lane, Lambert's Lane, Scepesfete's Lane, St. Gregory; Queeningate Lane, near Queeningate; Spech House Lane, near the old Guildhall, in St. Andrew's parish; Shepeshank Lane, now Gravel Lane; Wellard's Lane, now Hawk's Lane; Bullock Lane, Ware Lane, in St. Mildred; Cokyn's Lane, St. Peter; Pikenot Alley, leading from St. Margaret's Church to the High Street; St. Thomas Lane, near St. Mary de Castro, and Castle Street; Sepesoke Lane, Chepeschonke Lane, in St. George's Parish, Silcock Lane, afterwards Clement's Lane.

Slavery in England.

Referring to another subject we wish to make a few remarks upon slavery in England—not the bondage of the serf to his lord, which even in days of violence had some redeeming characteristics, and a patriarchal ancestry, but to the absolute possession, wherein one man treats his fellow creature as a chattel, not transferred from owner to owner with the land on which he was born—the homestead in which he was bred—but as a thing of marketable value, like a dog, a horse, or a wheelbarrow, parted with to minister to the avarice or to

satisfy the caprice of the owner.* The laws of the Conqueror prohibited any one *selling* a man out of his country.

One of the earliest descriptions given of an English slave market is found in the life of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, who died in 1095. He speaks of witnessing an exhibition in the public market of Bristol of young people of both sexes, some of great beauty, subjected to outrages, and daily sold.

Domesday Book has an allusion nearer home, recording that at Lewes, in Sussex, "fourpence was to be paid to the Portreve for every man *sold* there."

I have found no allusion in the Canterbury Records to any slave-selling transaction; on the contrary, a subscription was raised, or rather a sum of money was voted to ransom Englishmen out of slavery—captives of the Algerine pirates. It is true, however, that though the money was subscribed, it was not ultimately devoted to this purpose. Perhaps the captives had escaped; perhaps the money was urgently required for some other object.

Leaving Domesday and the Bishop Wulfstan, and coming down to a much later period we find in the survey of Glastonbury Abbey, *tem.*, Henry VIII., that after its dissolution "there were 270 bondsmen, whose bodies and goods were at the King's Highness' pleasure."

Possibly these were feudal serfs, for serfdom had not then been *legally* abolished; not until the time of Charles II.

However, there is no mistake about the existence of slavery in England, even at a much later period.

Let us refer to a public advertisement: "A black boy, an Indian, about 13 years of age, ran away on the 8th inst. from Putney, with a collar about his neck with this inscription, 'The Lady Bloomfield's Black, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.'"

Again, in the "Tatler" of 1709 (not Johnson's Tatler): "A black boy, twelve years of age, fit to wait on a gentleman, to be disposed of at Denis Coffee House, Finch Lane, near the Royal Exchange." Again, in 1728,

* A slave was said to be freed by delivering him to the Sheriff by the right hand, and pointing out to him the ways and gates open, and delivering unto him (a freeman's arms) a lance and a sword.

in the "Daily Journal:" "To be sold, a negro boy, aged eleven years; inquire at the Virginia Coffee House."

Population, Income, and Expenses of Canterbury.

By the last census, 1871, it was 20,962. In a Subsidy Roll, 51 Edward III., 1377, Canterbury numbered only 4,000 inhabitants. York, at the same period, was much more populous, containing 10,000 people. England and Wales at the same date numbered 2,350,000 inhabitants, not nearly the present population of London.

A.D. 1522, the "yearly value of lands and tenements in the 6 wards in Canterbury, was 1,322*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* The goods and chattels were worth 6,970*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*

We give the receipts of the city some eighty years since:—

Income of the city, 1st April, 1799:—

	£	s.	d.
Fish shambles	5	7	2
Flesh shambles	71	10	0
Bull Stake Market	21	5	5
Weigh Bridge	145	0	5¼
Freemen *	180	6	0
Inrollment of apprentices	2	1	8
Farm rents	298	18	4½
St. Augustine	85	6	4½
Pipe money	0	3	4
Dividends Bank Book	22	16	0
Casual receipts	68	0	6
	900	15	3¼

Deduction expenses:—

Tradesmen, interest to Mr. Simmons, Sheriff's sureties, quit rent to Manor of Caldicot, 2*s.*; taxes Dane John Field, 8*s.*	520	3	9¾
	380	11	5½

Income Tax paid . . £38 0 0

£200 paid to the Government during the war. The Town Clerk was directed to take a case thereon, and procure the Recorder's opinion.

Income of the city from all sources, inclusive of rates raised by the Local Board, year to 31st. August, 1877:—

	£	s.	d.
City	5,565	13	1
Local Board	9,130	11	6
	14,696	4	7

* This item has much increased in an election year.

Wells.

It may be a trivial thing to notice, but perhaps if the record be not now made, it may never more be mentioned. Several wells seem to have been covered up, and some filled in in the heart of the city. Thus, in making the foundations of the Roman Catholic Church, a well was found with clear water in it, covered over at some depth, and a Roman millstone at or near its mouth; and in April, 1870, a well, no doubt the "Old Red Pump Well," was discovered in the middle of Palace Street, opposite Mr. Mummery's. It was 4 feet wide, and compactly made of flint work—a very ancient well. A well was discovered opposite Christ Church Gate, June 21, 1871.

Latin and English.

"De novis shoppis quæ sunt apud wheat market," is a specimen of the classical municipal Latin. Latin of some sort, like Chaucer's French "of Stratford Le Bow" in the mouth of his gentle Prioress, continued to be used until up to a certain period in the wording of Corporation documents.

The oldest wills in the Canterbury archives, with the occasional exception of Norman version, were in Latin. When, however, the entries of the Burghmote proceedings began to be written in English about the beginning of the 16th century, the beautiful writing of some of the earlier official records disappeared, and the writing in the Tudor times often became scarcely legible. The official scribe was now dismissed, and the Town Clerk or his assistants took his place. Indeed, although some of these officials were allowed to keep schools, they were no adepts at writing. The spelling also from the beginning of the 16th century was somewhat extraordinary. Rafe Brown's epitaph in Northgate Church is an instance—Mayor in 1517. Alderman was written "All-Der-Man." The etymologists of this period delighted in the multitude of consonants, such, for instance, as in the word henchmen, written "henschemennys." From Mr. Skippen's "Sketches of Rochester" we extract the following examples in the reign of Edward IV.:—"He payde to

John Stuppenden of the Scyllde hall (Guild Hall) yn London for hys labore to make us a boke owte of ffrench yn to latyne, and owte of latyne into hyngglysch, for yn quiry of all manner of thynggs."

In our Canterbury Records of nearly the same date we find—"nekys of mutton; (shoulders) schollderys; eggs, spelt hegges; pigs, pygges; sessions, sessthonys; franchise, fraunchese." This from the time of Edward IV. to the middle of the next century.

Richard II.'s renunciation of the crown was drawn up in Latin and English when read to the Parliament. On the other hand, the use of the French language in deeds and pleadings was generally abolished in the reign of Edward III.

A.D. 1487–8, Barrette, Mayor, the court of Burghmote is petitioned by certain freemen, complaining of great loss to themselves, and consequent "desolation" to the city (and of course to the world in general), of certain persons without the walls baking of bread and brewing of beer, and sending the same to be sold in the city by certain unauthorized persons, whereby they have resorting to themselves many vagabonds and evil-disposed persons, keeping of lewd, seditious, and bad characters in their houses, &c. Why this should follow, we do not comprehend. The petitioners pray the due enforcement of the bye laws against such evil doers and their practices.

Queen Elizabeth's Act for the Relief of the Poor was anticipated by Sir John Oldcastle, the celebrated Lollard, when, in A.D. 1410, he introduced a bill, but ineffectually, into Parliament, "That every township should maintain its own poor that could not labour," also, for a somewhat general establishment of almshouses.*

A.D. 1685, according to an ancient custom, an iron bar was ordered to be provided by the Chamberlain for "Iron Bar Lane," hence no doubt came the name of that locality.

A.D. 1635, the wooden pipes of the city conduit were taken up, and leaden ones provided to supply their place. In the drainage excavations of 1868, some of these old wooden conduit pipes were exhumed in Burgate Lane,

* Hook's "Lives," vol. 5.

and by one of the engineers they were supposed to be Roman!

December 6, 1687, a lion was baited by dogs in the yard of the "White Hart Inn." This is from an entry by the clerk of St. George's in his parish register book of that period.

A.D. 1607, the prisoners in the city gaol were allowed threepence a day to support themselves, and to the keeper of the prison a new gown was given once in four years.

The River Stour, as shown by records and by the remains of locks visible at Sturry to this day, was, in the 15th and 16th centuries, navigable from Sandwich to Canterbury for vessels of 10 to 12 tons burthen. "Cold Harbour," or "Coal Harbour," near the bottom of Northgate Street, was one of the places where goods were landed.

The perambulating the boundaries of the city every seven years seemed to have been a time-honoured practice. On the 21st August, 2nd of Edward VI., on one of these occasions, the Corporation banqueted on "Pater Noster Hill."

Freemen.

Queen Elizabeth, in the 12th year of her reign, confirms to the Mayor of Canterbury the privilege of making a freeman according to the annual custom; and a few years later, the privilege which a freeman's daughter had of making her husband free of the city, and which privilege had been disputed, was fully established.

In the 5th & 6th of William and Mary, John Hayward, an honest man, in consideration of his poverty, had the freedom of the city bestowed upon him. Some sixty years previous to this act of generosity and forbearance (1637), William Santon, a Walloon goldsmith, was fined 20*s.* for making a wedding ring, he not being free.

Mills, &c., &c.

The great ecclesiastical establishments seem to have had at one time possession of most, if not all, the mills on the River Stour.

The Abbot's Mill was held by St. Augustine. Barton

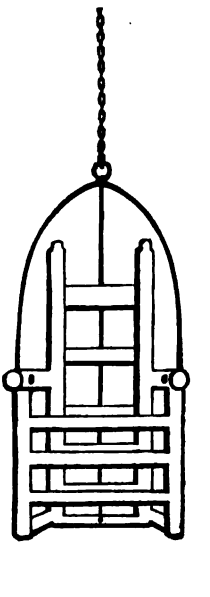
or Browning's Mill belonged to Christ Church. Browne's or Dean's Mill to the Archbishops. The city had the King's Mill by especial grant from one of the ecclesiastical houses. The Prior and Canons had a mill called Shepeschotes Milne. Somner especially refers to a fact that these mills were not merely float mills, for in the reign of Henry II., at the prayer and suit of certain ecclesiastics, a letter is directed to the Bailiffs of Canterbury, "That the falls of certain of the mills had been raised, and the monks had in their property been damaged" (by flooding of the lands above them, no doubt); and it is ordered, "That the height of the falls of the said mills be brought down to the *same level* as they were in the time of the King's grandfather, Henry I."

As far back as July, 1174, we have mention of the "Eastbridge or King's Mill." It is said to have been given to the sister of Thomas Becket by Henry II., for his supposed complicity in his murder.*

1698, a brazen basket and a city standard for measure and weight, are bought.

The musicians and waits seem generally to have been a troublesome community. Thus, February, 1640, an escutcheon, previously granted to them, is recalled on account of disorders and misbehaviour. For a time they are suspended; but upon the restoration of the monarchy, A.D. 1660, and the return of the idle part of the community to jollity and revelry, they are again permitted to perform.

The same year the ducking stool was restored, and several persons were executed for witchcraft. The ducking stool seemed to have been used not only as a punishment for "scolds," but for "night walkers," and women of evil fame.



We give a sketch of one of these instruments of "torture," for the unfortunate offender was lowered into the river, ducked, then pulled up, and ducked again, as long

*A. C., vol. 10, p. 18.

as the "executioners" chose to persevere. The sketch is taken from one of these old "stools," to be seen at this day in the Town Hall of Fordwich, a little borough two miles east of Canterbury.

The Mayor of Canterbury seems to have had a kind of Mansion House in Westgate, A.D. 1479, which was hired at 40*s.* per annum.

A.D. 1468, the city pay 30*l.* 17*s.* to soldiers, at the rate of 8*d.* per day each. As ship money was demanded of the maritime ports, and also of some inland towns, Canterbury had to contribute.

A.D. 1639, Canterbury was assessed in the time of Charles I. to provide 80 men to be sent against the Scots.

A.D. 1642, the city was ordered to be fortified, and all the old musquets and calivers put into repair; the Dean and Chapter are ordered to mure up their gates; if they refuse, they are to be examined, &c.

A.D. 1649, consequent upon an insurrection in favour of King Charles, the city authorities inquire of the Recorder what course they are to adopt to recover the arms and ammunition taken from the city by the Parliamentary forces. We have not found the reply.

A.D. 1667, St. George's Gate is made a magazine; and in May, 1688, James II. then being King, and marching with quick steps to his own destruction, Dragoons are quartered in the city, and an order is made in the September of the same year for the Mayor to deliver up the keys of the city at *any time* to the commander of all regiments quartered in the city!

A year later the Dungeon Hill is planted with cannon, and watched day and night by the housekeepers.

Again we hear of arms and musquets. On this occasion, however, they are put back into the Town Hall; and in December, 1692, one James Harris is paid 11*l.* 10*s.* for cleansing the same. The next year, 1693, the old match armoury is ordered to be sold as useless.

A few years previous, Sir John Hales was voted the freedom of the city in a *silver* box for causing water to be conveyed from his spring head in the old park to the city. Sir John declines the franchise, but sends the Corporation a buck from his park.

A.D. 1746, the conduit kept near St. Andrew's Church was illuminated upon the marriage of a Sir Edward Hales. Eight years later this conduit was removed.

Going back half a century and more, we record a fatal duel fought with swords in the North Holmes, Canterbury, A.D. 1696, between two young gentlemen. A memorial stone, let into a brick wall, but now much defaced, still marks the spot. Their names were Anthony Buckeridge and Ensign Finch Rooke. Both were killed.

The Corporation had various modes of "raising the wind," otherwise the municipal revenues, in olden time, to say nothing of fines, right and left, for every trifling irregularity. Alderman May was distrained upon for refusing to wear a gown. The Sheriff was fined because he thought fit to adorn himself with a beard.

Alderman Fuller (9th Elizabeth) pays five marks to be excused his appearance at Burghmote, "saving on matters of weight."

From the year 1660, down to the close almost of the last century, Dissenters were elected to civic offices by the Corporation, and *then* fined, because they could not conscientiously receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Others were elected to offices against their wishes, then fined because they refused to be sworn in. However, on the 29th May (29th Elizabeth), by an extraordinary act of clemency, Mark Berry, Sheriff, having some disorder in his head, was allowed to wear his hat on in Burghmote without incurring fine. A few years previous a Mr. Bull was discharged from his corporate duties without fine, "he being old, impotent, and much disordered."

Ancient Books.

Amongst books relating to Canterbury lost or missing was Sprott's Chronicle, dating from the Creation to A.D. 1272. Its contents, however, related chiefly to St. Augustine's Monastery.

Leland missed it when he made his pilgrimage to Canterbury. Dugdale used a copy of it when he compiled the "Monasticon." Hearne edited a copy, but his book was merely "excerpta." Hume borrowed from it

copiously. Strange, when so many were acquainted with it, no original copy should be known.

Public notaries, the functionaries of an office of much importance some few centuries back, when the great mass of the population could neither read nor write, were once appointed in Canterbury by the Prior of Christ Church, under the authority of the Counts Palatine of the Empire; the mode of investiture seemed to be by the delivery to the person selected of pen, ink, and paper. However, this privilege was forbidden by royal authority; "the Emperor, as we justly might suppose, "having no authority within this realm."

There was a school at St. Martin's, Canterbury, A.D. 1321, of which one Robert de Henney was at that date the master. The scholars who were to be instructed "re grammatica"—a term having a wider signification than merely "grammar"—were limited to 13. However, more boys, we are told, used to attend, and when the master of the Canterbury Grammar School came to make inquisition, the surplus boys used to dodge and abscond. They were not satisfied with instruction only in "the alphabet," "the Psalter," and "singing."

Value of Provisions.

From a document, dated A.D. 1594, we make a few extracts of the cost of wages, &c., paid to mechanics, labourers, servants, and others. A labourer by the day, from Easter to Michaelmas, received with meat and drink, 4*d.*; finding himself, 10*d.* From Michaelmas to Easter, with meat and drink, 4*d.*; without board, 8*d.*; mowers by the day, with meat and drink, 8*d.*; without board, 1*s.* 2*d.*; mowers by the acre of oats and barley, 4*d.*; without board, 8*d.*; reapers by the day, with meat and drink, 6*d.*; women reapers, 4*d.* The chief carpenter, with meat and drink, 8*d.*; bricklayers, tylers, and sawyers, from Easter to Michaelmas, without board, 6*d.*; master millwrights, by the day in summer, with board, 10*d.*; brickmakers, by the thousand bricks, digging the earth, making, striking, and burning, 3*s.* Women servants, by the year, the best sort, without livery, 33*s.* 4*d.*; second sort, do., 20*s.* Bowyer, the best, 55*s.* 4*d.* per annum, with board we presume. Arrow-head maker and servant,

with board, do., 46*s.* 8*d.* The prices were fixed by an order of Burghmote, A.D. 1594. Many artificers, such as shoemakers, pewterers, tanners, dyers, cutters, &c., were paid by the year.

Coming down to a very recent period of our "*Olden* Time," yet being unwilling to leave unrecorded two graceful acts on the part of the Corporation of Canterbury, we find, 27th September, 1814, the Court record their thanks to Mayor Halford for his eminent services in the field, accompanied by a jewelled sword of the value of 50 guineas. Mayor Halford was the son of Alderman Halford, some time Chamberlain. Again, in May, 1830, the Marquess Camden was presented with the freedom of the city, in a "box of heart of oak," for his patriotic conduct in resigning the perquisites and emoluments of his Patent Office as one of the Tellers of the Exchequer—a sacrifice we believe on the part of the noble Marquess of some 4,000*l.* a year, and which was saved henceforth to the country.

Corporation Insignia, Mace, Sword, Burghmote Horn, and Pictures.

The history of the goods and chattels of the Corporation may not prove uninteresting; especially as the vicissitudes of the city plate were many.

A.D. 1571, the Corporation appear to have fallen into such pecuniary distress, that the Mayor and Commonalty pledge a silver bason and a silver ewer to Thomas Nutt for 17*l.* A.D. 1587 (29th Elizabeth), an inventory is made of the city plate, which then consisted of a "bason and ewer, 76oz. and one quarter and half a grain of an ounce; three great gilded goblets, one with a cover, 77oz., and two lesser goblets, parcel gilded, 20oz. and one quarter." Some years later all the plate was directed to be sold, except the silver spoons, "which being in pawn were redeemable at 5*s.* per ounce." The transfer of the custody of the plate from one Mayor to another was generally effected on the Burghmote day after the new Mayor had been sworn in, the articles delivered being duly recorded in the Burghmote Book. By another order, the Chamberlain is directed "to make sale of the plate remaining in the hands of Alderman Hovenden,

saving only the great gilded spoons; and these spoons, 35oz., Mr. Hovenden is to have at 5*s.* an ounce—he promising to sell them again to the city at the same price." A.D. 1699, divers old pieces of plate, said to be worn out, were exchanged for a pair of candlesticks, snuffers, and other things pertaining thereto. A.D. 1772, a pair of silver snuffers and stand, and a pair of silver taper candlesticks were bought at a cost of 13*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The Corporation then, by some extraordinary freak, sell to Alderman Frend, an ancient silver gilt tobacco box, for 7*s.* 6*d.* per ounce.

A.D. 1782, Alderman Long presents the city with a silver waiter, and Dr. Beauvoir bestows at the same time the original picture of Sir John Boys, now suspended in the Hall.

A.D. 1617, the Corporation purchase a basin and ewer of silver gilt, weight 126oz., at a cost of 6*s.* 7*d.* per ounce. They possessed also a basin and ewer of silver in 1587, which weighed 76oz. and a quarter. A.D. 1746, the mace was ordered to be laid on a cushion with gold fringe. A.D. 1681, a large and fair mace of silver was purchased, weighing 121oz., at 10*s.* per ounce. This, with contingent expenses, cost altogether 62*l.* 10*s.* The old mace seems to have been sold for 8*s.* 4*d.* per ounce. It weighed nearly 60oz.

The Sword of State of the Canterbury Corporation was presented by James I., during the mayoralty of Thomas Paramor, A.D. 1607.

The sword bore, amongst other inscriptions on it, "This Sowrde was graunted by our Gratious Soveraigne Lorde King Jeames to this City of Canterbury, and to Thomas Paramore, Esquire."

The Mace has a history and an ancestry. The charter of Henry VI., to which the citizens owe their privilege of electing a Mayor, conferred upon that officer the right to appoint Sergeants at Mace, directing that their maces be borne before him. In the 26th Elizabeth, a Mace is ordered to be made out of the maces of the Town Sergeants; but, although these were of silver, some reflection seems to have been cast upon the origin of the mace so produced; for ten years afterwards, "One very fair Mace" is ordered "to be made decent, to be carried

before the Mayor." A.D. 1650, we have an entry of "the great Mace" being altered and finished; but, as the city about this time had heavy demands upon it, being required to furnish arms and soldiers for the Commonwealth, the Corporation resolve — "That the Mace be made with as little charge and addition of silver as may be." A.D. 1680, the city decide,—"That either the new mace be made, or the old one repaired." The friends of a new mace seem to have prevailed; we find an entry wherein the Chamberlain is recorded to have given "Twenty shillings for those who assisted him about it." In A.D. 1721, the City Sword and Mace were gilded and amended. A.D. 1767, new maces (silver) are ordered to be made for the Town Sergeants. These are of small size.

Amongst later acquisitions, we may record a gold chain presented by the late W. Furley, Esq., to be worn by the Mayors for the time being, and a "lovinge" cup, presented by Alderman H. Austin.

Burghmote Horn.

As far back as A.D. 1376, allusion is made to the assembling of the Corporation by sounding the Burghmote Horn. It appears, however, to have been in use long previous to this period, for, in an action of trespass, brought by the Abbot of St. Augustine against the citizens of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry III., the Bailiffs are accused of having raised the Commonalty, to the number of 5,000, by the sounding of this horn, to commit an outrage on the Abbot's property, at the Abbot's Mill, by plucking down his mill-stones and gear, to the damage of 500 marks; and doing injuries to his miller and servants, in revenge for a supposed invasion of the rights of the citizens by the Abbot, who had taken a woman accused of felony out of the jurisdiction of the city (her offence was committed in Longport), and confined her in the prison of the Monastery. The Mayor and Common Councilmen, down to 1835, were summoned to Burghmote by the sounding of this horn. It now reposes with the curiosities of the past.

The Crier, A.D. 1673, was allowed 4*s*. per annum for

blowing the horn to summon the Mayor and Corporation to the Burghmote.

At the meetings of the ancient courts of Burghmote, secresy was imposed upon its members by oath. In spite, however, of this precaution, a certain William Hart being called to account, is "sent to ward," for having said that "the court were forsworn three times a year." This, doubtless, was true enough; for though two "Tryers" were appointed to receive on oath of secresy the votes of the Aldermen in the nomination of Mayor, the manner in which each individual voted was generally known throughout the city a few hours afterwards.

Election of Mayor.

The election of Mayor in the "Olden Time" was in this wise:—The Aldermen nominated two of their own body, whose names were submitted to the freemen of the city, who by a majority of votes elected. Much *open* bribery took place on these occasions, the agents of each candidate stating from the hustings what each party would give per vote, viz., 5*s*., 10*s*., or 20*s*., raising the price towards the conclusion of the poll (12 p.m.) if the election were closely contested. Several hundreds of pounds were sometimes spent. Thomas Rock, who by successful resistance about 1760, broke up the exactions of the Fraternities (see Guilds and Fraternities), notes his attendance on a certain civic festivity, when one of the Aldermen present, dressed out in a remarkable fashion, observed: "This waistcoat cost me 12*l*. 12*s*., and I have another at home I bought on the same occasion." This was in allusion to a Mayoralty contest, A.D. 1758, between Aldermen G. Knowler and G. Plomer.

Pictures in the Guildhall, &c.

Of the pictures and portraits suspended in the Guildhall, besides the original picture of Sir John Boys, previously alluded to, we may note that, A.D. 1772, Mr. Taddy, the Mayor, presented the picture of Joseph Colfe. Several portraits and pictures had been given even at earlier dates. The portrait of Cogan, who gave lands for charitable purposes, A.D. 1657, is said to be by Jansen; if so it must have been Cornelius Jansen, who

came to England 1618, and, according to Walpole, resided at Bridge, near this city, between the years 1630 and 1640. He left this country during the civil wars, and died at Amsterdam, 1653. A.D 1708, Robinson's and Cogan's pictures were framed at a cost of 30*s*. This might have been the period when some of the portraits were touched up and materially injured. A.D. 1709, that elaborate piece of art, "Queen Anne," which adorns the Guildhall, was purchased, frame and all, for 10*l*. A.D. 1724, there occurs an allusion to a "Figure Painting"—perhaps the same which now graces the Council Chamber, and which "one Maxted, a painter, may mend for three guineas." A.D. 1770, the fine arts appear to have been looking up in Canterbury, for a picture of Thomas Hanson* is ordered "with frame, not to exceed twenty-five pounds." Of late years but few additions have been made. We may enumerate the subscription portrait of Alderman Henry Cooper, by Sidney Hodges; a portrait of the Right Hon. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, by Mr. James Pemmell; and a portrait of Lord Tenterden, late Chief Justice, who, formerly an inhabitant of Canterbury, from a comparatively humble origin, by his integrity, talents, and perseverance, attained one of the highest legal dignities in the kingdom.

To the above list we add the portraits of Charles Robinson, Recorder, and M.P. for Canterbury; John Whitfield, Gent; John Watson, Mayor; Mrs. Elizabeth Lovejoy, Benefactor to the city charities; Leonard Cotton, Mayor; Richard Halford, Chamberlain; Alderman Barham, Grandfather of the author of the "Ingoldsby Legends;" Alderman Simmonds, and Sir Thomas White. The picture of the latter was placed in the Guildhall A.D. 1608. It cost 6*l*. 11*s*. 8*d*.

A.D. 1689, Alderman Gibbs is paid 10*l*. for a painting over the chimney-piece in the Guildhall. There is a tradition that this picture was the production of an Alderman. The subject is the Judgment of Solomon; it is a copy from an old master. There was a Thomas Gibbs, however, who seems to have been a painter.

* Thomas Hanson, a London merchant. He gave 1,500*l*. to the Mayor and Commonalty, in trust for the hospitals of Maynard, Eastbridge, and Saint John, namely, 500*l*. each.

The Martyrs' Field.

We have a few words to say about the "Martyrs' Field." This locality has lost its identity, through the erection of the station and offices of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, and the destruction of the meadow, by its conversion into an hop garden.

A few relics were found during the excavations and levelling for the station—three or four skulls, a brooch, a bronze Celt, some Roman coins and beads.

Let us stroll along the city walls of the Dane John Grounds, and then pause by the farthest tower upon the now smooth and trimly ordered Terrace.

It is by "The White Cross Tower we stop." Of the nineteen similar structures that once encircled Canterbury, this remains the most perfect of them all. On its front, towards the roadway and foss below, it bears a white cross* of Caen stone let into a facing of black flints. The cross, however, can only be distinguished when the leaves are off, for a flourishing pear tree covers it with its foliage. Out of the top of this tower springs an acacia tree, beautiful in summer season with its snowy blossoms. There is a significant reason for that cross and the name the turret bears.

On the field opposite the tower, now known as the Martyrs' Field, but now, even as we write, almost obliterated by the encroachments of the newly constructed railway, there was once an ugly pile of wood and a crowd of people, and among them stood a fellow bearing a lighted brand. By and by, half dragged, half led, from the road below was brought up a woman. She was to die—to be burned† upon that pyre for a matter of theological opinion. She regards the angry and fearful creatures around her. There is no gleam of pity in their eyes. She dies,—the smoke of that sacrifice goes up from the Martyrs' Field at Canterbury into the deep full summer's sky. Thousands look on: mothers hold up their children from the terraced walls that they may see and clap their little hands; boys climb trees and

* The cross is said, however, by one authority to have stood originally in the Martyrs' Field.

† Judging from old woodcuts, there were "burnings," as above, in various parts of the city, some near the Cathedral.

palings; and on the Dungeon Mound, then irregular and broken, although planted with trees, old and young, rich and poor, infirm and hale, are grouped together.

Yet, as surely as the smoke ascended, and the fire cleared, and the faggots crackled, and a stifled sob arose to God, was this deed held in reckoning! The cost of the staple and the stake, the faggot and the burning, for this or for some other martyrdom, is it not entered in the Records of Canterbury City?

In the reign of Queen Mary, from A.D. 1555 to 1558, 278 persons suffered death by burning for their religious opinions; of these 41 were burnt at Canterbury, several being women.* In Queen Elizabeth's reign 180 persons were put to death for religious views, mostly by hanging, that is, from 1578 to 1603. The individuals thus executed were chiefly secular and other Roman Catholic priests. Four of these unfortunates were executed at Canterbury, October 1588.

The Church House.

There is a somewhat ancient mansion in High Street, Canterbury, entitled "The Church House." Whether this name has been assigned to it on account of its proximity to the church of St. Mary, I cannot determine, but I wish to inform my readers that the title *Church House* is of very ancient designation, and does not *necessarily* imply connection with any parish church, although the term and institution seem in some way to infer that it does.

A Church House was sometimes a place of refuge, a sort of lodging house for wayfarers and travellers.

In fair times the Church House was let to merchants and pedlars, to expose therein their wares for sale.

"Church ales," that is, ale brewed by the parish authorities, and which had name and origin from church festivities, and were a source of profit and income to the parish officers, was brewed in these houses. At other times they were let out to gipsies, and, we should say, to vagrants also.

In 1560 the Church House was let to a gipsy for 3*s.* 6*d.*,

*N & Q, August 17, 1878.

and another "Egyptian" hired it for a night for fourpence.

About a century since, the Church House at Canterbury belonged to a Mr. Waldy, a barrister; he used to travel to London upon the business of his clients; and I have seen an interesting and amusing diary of his, in manuscript, descriptive of the manners of the times, and his adventures on the road. The book has, I believe, passed into the possession of the Oxenden family, of which Mr. Waldy was a distant connexion.

Mr. Waldy left behind him a curious library of books, containing some rare specimens of the earliest printed books in this country. These for the most part vegetate in a somewhat damp room or vestry in Elham Church, Kent. An interesting church for other reasons, as well as for the extraordinary fact that in a large stained-glass window of no ancient date, in a most conspicuous part, are effigies, not of the saints, but of Lords Salisbury and Beaconsfield, and Mr. Gladstone; and also a figure in blue, and Madame Patti, leading a celestial choir! It is for all the world like a cartoon from *Punch*.

Somner alludes to an ancient house in High Street, near to St. Mary's Church, which might refer to the site where the present Church House stands. It is mentioned in a deed of Christ Church, A.D. 1187, as a possession belonging to the Nuns of Sexburga, Sheppy, passed over in exchange to the church at Canterbury. From this deed we learn that St. Mary's in High Street, having we presume bread and fish markets close beside it, was called "Ecclesia Piscatorum."*

Hospitals, Religious Houses, Chantrys, Almonries, &c.

Amongst the oldest of these we may note, that in early Christian Saxon times, within the walls on the south part of the city, was a Monastery built in honour of Saint Mildred, whose last Abbot was named Alfwic. The record of it we may find in the "Monasticon," vol. i., p. 26; and at the same time occurs an allusion to Saint Martin's Church, said by the same authority to be "Sedes Episcopalis." See our notice of St. Martin.

* Dormitories or cells are still to be seen in an upper story of the Church House, Canterbury.

St. John's Hospital.—This establishment is supposed to have been founded by Lanfranc, A.D. 1084. It was first instituted for poor, lame, infirm, and blind men and women.

Nearly all the original buildings have disappeared except the chapel, which has a romanesque-headed doorway. The domiciles are now tenanted by aged men and women, to which they are presented by the Archdeacon. Restorations have been made to the buildings with taste and propriety. A.D. 1507, a complaint was made to the Archdeacon that the Mayor of Canterbury had carried off the ornaments of the chapel and other things, such as a chalice, a paten of silver, surplices, and the bells. I can find no cause assigned for this outrage. In the chapel were once some stained-glass windows. In one the twelve apostles were portrayed, and there was a memorial to W. Sepvans and his wife.

The Hospital of St. Laurence is situated by the Old Dover Road. It was founded, according to Tanner, A.D. 1137, as a hospital for leprous monks, and the poor parents and relatives of the monks of St. Augustine. But a small portion of the old buildings remain, and on the wall abutting on the road there is to be seen what is said to be a representation of St. Laurence on the gridiron. Certainly, a prostrate figure is discernible, with one or two other figures beside it in an erect position.

It has been stated nevertheless that the original patron of this house was not the martyred saint, but Laurentius, the second Archbishop of Canterbury. It was alienated in the time of Edward VI. to a person named Topsal, but Queen Mary bestowed it upon Sir John Perrot.

East Bridge, or King's Bridge, is another of the houses ascribed to Lanfranc, but probably incorrectly, as it is not considered to be older than the reign of Henry I. Somner says it was founded by Thomas Beckett in Henry II.'s reign. However, it was once called the "Hospital of Saint Thomas the Martyr," and pilgrims to his shrine were entertained within its walls; the food supplied was limited to a certain stated allowance of fourpence a day, together with a night's lodging.*

* F. Summerly.

Archbishop Stratford, according to Tanner, was a great benefactor to it, so that he might be called its second founder. It stood a narrow chance at one time of being confiscated, but Archbishop Parker gave it a new foundation for a school, and for a refuge for poor and infirm brothers and sisters.

Eastbridge was found to be in a ruinous state in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and was granted with all its revenues to John Farnham, one of Her Majesty's gentlemen pensioners, who assigned it to G. Hayes for 500*l.* From Hayes, Archbishop Parker * secured it and re-endowed it. John Battely, Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1688, was one of its benefactors.

Two other ancient hospitals, Cokyn's and Cogan's, the latter founded as late as 1657, existed close to it. The former of these was united to Eastbridge as long since as 1209.

Cogan's Hospital, now devoted to the widows of clergymen, exists in a series of handsome villa-like semi-detached houses on the London Road, just beyond Saint Dunstan's.

East Bridge Hospital is well worth the antiquary's attention.† The level of the floor gives direct evidence how much the surface of the street has risen since the erection of the building, whilst the architecture within the reclining or rather leaning columns in the hall of early English work. In the vault below, the pillars, after the same style, buried, we might say, almost out of sight in a cellar, which was doubtless once an ancient crypt, all claim attention.

Cokyn's Hospital once stood in Saint Peter's Street, opposite the Black Friar's Gate. It was founded by William Cokyn, a man of a worthy family, as Somner tells us.

* Duncombe says, Parker.—F. S.

† Whilst this work was passing through the press, a discovery was made at Eastbridge of a wall painting on the N.E. side of the hall, during the process of some repairs. It is sadly mutilated, but enough remains to show it is descriptive of the murder of Beckett. The Archbishop, who is down on his knees, is about to receive a fatal blow from the axe of one of the assasins. Little is to be deciphered but the heads and shoulders of four or five figures. A huge and unsightly chimney-piece, about to be pulled down, probably conceals a continuation of the design. Competent judges consider the painting to be of the 14th or 15th century. The pilgrims who were once entertained in this hall had thus an opportunity of contemplating an attempt to depict the Martyrdom of the Saint, whose shrine many of them had travelled so many miles to visit.

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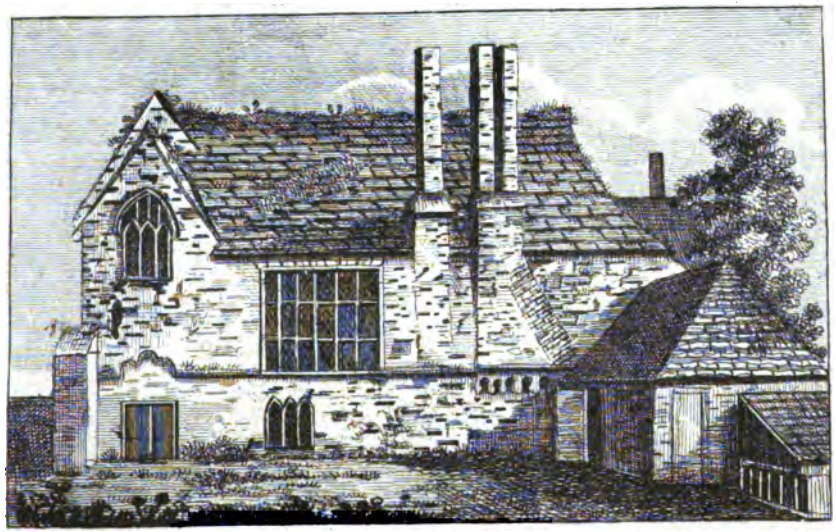


St Gregory's Priory, Canterbury.

Saint Gregory is another religious house, supposed also to owe its foundation to Lanfranc, A.D. 1084. It was erected for secular priests, but in the time of Henry I., it was constituted a Priory of Black Canons. Somner, however, considers that its building was divided into two parts, one for infirm men, the other for infirm women, to whom the ecclesiastics were to administer † religious offices. Battely informs us there was anciently the Chapel of the Brotherhood of Saint Thomas the Martyr, situated in the garden of St. Gregory. At the time of the dissolution, it contained 13 Religious. Grove states its original foundation was for sick men and women. An extensive burying-ground was attached to it, not appropriate to the hospital alone, but to the parishioners of Northgate. The Canons of St. Gregory were allowed 4 acres of the best wheat and 4 acres of the best barley, cut from the manor of Northfleet. Not far off, but lower down on the same side of the street, we arrive at *Jesus or Boys' Hospital.* It is of somewhat a late foundation, and owes its existence to Sir John Boys of Bettshanger and Fredville. The establishment consists of seven brothers and four sisters and a warden. Vacancies are first filled up by the founder's kin; the number, however, of these being limited. Should no claimants occur, or the number for kindred be full, the Dean sends two names to the Mayor, who selects one. There is a school attached to the institution, and the quaint little chapel wherein the inmates worship is worthy of a visit.

The ordinances given by the founder bear date 1599, and are somewhat severe upon the crimes of "sorcery or charming," reflecting doubtless rather strongly the popular belief of that time.

Maynard's Hospital in Saint Mildred was founded, A.D. 1317,‡ by one of the city Aldermen, called "Maynard le Rich." It supports four brothers and four sisters, who are appointed by the Mayor for the time being. An Alderman is generally chosen by the Corporation as the master or warden, but not always. Adjoining is another

* The Clerks of St. Gregory and their Church are alluded to in the Domesday Record.

† Battely, p. 169.

‡ Somner.

hospital or almshouse, founded by Leonard Cotton; it now forms a part of the same series of domiciles.

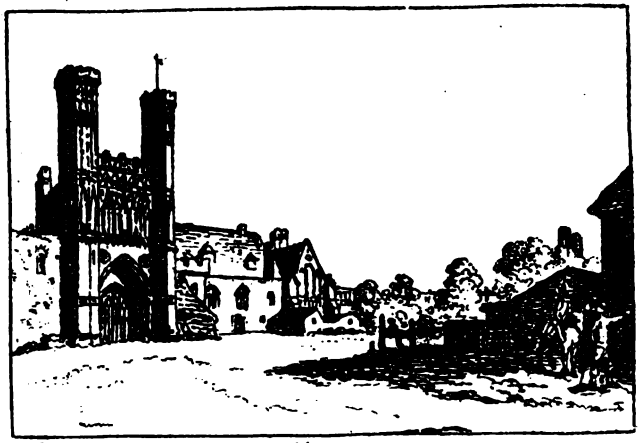
Dominicans, or Black Friars.

The Priory of Dominicans, or Black Friars, in St. Alphage parish, was founded soon after the year 1221, by Henry III., who is said to have built this Fraternity a Monastery on the banks of the Stour, on land given them by Archbishop Leighton. Scarcely any of these venerable ruins remain, except the chapel and adjoining premises, and the buildings on the opposite side of the river. The south gateway, built not long before the 30th Edward III., and faced with black flints, was pulled down some years since. The bridge with gothic arches has been destroyed within our own time, to make way for an unsightly but more convenient substitute. The Priory originally formed a square, which enclosed the burying ground; in this cemetery were buried some eminent persons. The friars possessed land on the other side of the river, down towards Abbot's Mill, and westward towards Saint Peter's; here they held orchards and pleasant gardens. The Monastery had two other gates or passages besides the one described above, one in the street near St. Alphage church, and the other in Best Lane, near the water-lock, opposite the "Prince of Orange" Lane, near the Rush Market; this passage led directly to their church.

The chapel now belonging to the "General Baptists" was the original hall or refectory of the monks. John Wenar appears to have been the last Prior; for on 25th Henry VIII., 6th of February, five years before the dissolution, he grants to Richard Purchard in a lease for forty years, a garden of the Friars Preachers, close adjoining their house. The original surrender of the Priory into the hands of Henry VIII. is lost or destroyed, as it was not in existence in the records when Dugdale prepared his work on monasteries.

The arms of the house were azure on a cross argent, between four mitres labelled Or, a text Or, surmounted by the letter S. sable. The Monastery, with cemetery, gardens, orchards, &c., was (27 Henry VIII.) surrendered to the King, who granted it to Thomas Wiseman, who

Black Friars, Canterbury.



West view of the Great Gate of S^t Augustins monastry, Canterbury.

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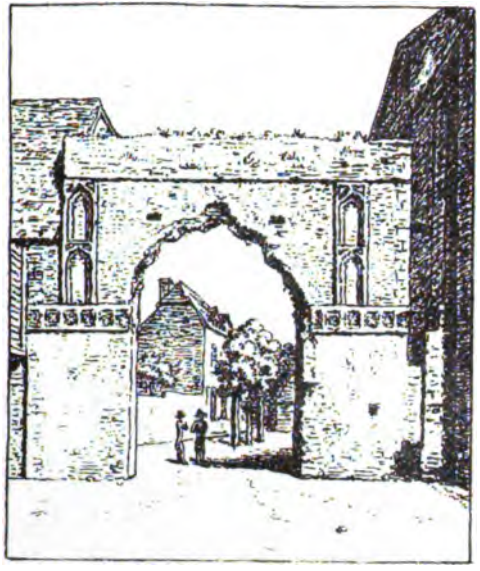
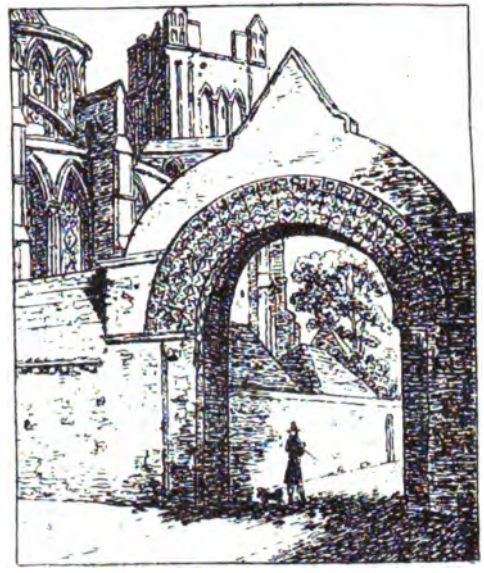


Gateway. Black Friars.



Cemetery Gate,. Cathedral.

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sublet it, for a time apparently. John Harrington held it, *temp.* Elizabeth, from whom it passed to Dr. Peters, who was the grandfather of Mrs. Barrett, second wife of Thomas Barrett, of Lee Priory, near Canterbury, and mother of Mrs. Birch, who subsequently owned it and brought it to her husband, the Rev. Mr. Birch.

The Black Friars appeared to have been often used as a gathering ground for the citizens of Canterbury, and many a tumultuous throng issued from thence. Here, under the then bailiff, William de Chilham, they drew up a list of grievances and items of proscription against the monks of Christ Church, because they refused to pay towards the supply and furnishing of twelve horsemen, demanded as a contribution from the city by Edward I., for his Scottish wars. We give from Somner the resolutions made on that occasion, as a curious evidence of the times:—

"They swore and conspired against the monks as follows:—

"*First.*—That they would overthrow the pentices,* windows, and mill, belonging to the Monks.

"*Secondly.*—That no citizen should dwell in any house belonging to the monks.

"*Thirdly.*—That all rents belonging to the monks should be gathered to the use of the citizens.

"*Fourthly.*—That no man should send or sell to the monks any victual.

"*Fifthly.*—That they should seize all the horses and beasts that come into the city with carriage to the monks.

"*Sixthly.*—That all such monks as came forth of their house should be despoiled of their garments.

"*Seventhly.*—That a trench should be cast to stop all men from going in or coming out.

"*Eighthly.*—That every pilgrim should, at his entering, swear he would make no offering.

"*Also.*—That every one of these commons aforesaid, should wear on their finger a ring of gold, which belonged to Thomas Becket."

The whole extent of the grounds was five acres and seven perches, including the churchyard, Draiton's house and orchard, the island—now scarcely to be recognised as an island—the dormitory just below it, and the refectory, now used as a chapel. On the south side of the convent existed the cemetery adjoining the chapel. Six curious and picturesque arches once stood across the river, forming a bridge connecting the buildings on either side.

* Pentices, or covered ways—enclosed alleys.

By a grant of Edward III., A.D. 1355, the Friars were permitted to enlarge their house. The island had previously been granted to them by the same monarch.

The Friars had a picturesque gateway which once opened towards Saint Peter's Street; it was faced with black flints, with figures in niches, and it was destroyed A.D. 1788. A fraternity of parish clerks held their guild at one time upon the premises of the Black Friars. See Plates 24 and 30.

The Grey Friars, or Franciscans.

The habits of the brethren consisted of a long grey coat, coming down to the heels, with a cowl or hood, and a cord or rope about the loins.

In the earlier state of the foundation of the order, the monks did not live together under one roof, but had little cottages, built up and down through the forests and mountains, adopting seclusion and solitude.

However, in Canterbury they always seemed tolerably well housed on the banks of the Stour. The island called "Binnewith" was presented to them by John Diggs, one of the Bailiffs of the city, Hasted says, in 1273. The river in and about Westgate parish and St. Peter's seemed formerly to have formed, by branching off into minor streams, more than one island in this neighbourhood.

Thus two little islands are mentioned, "where was Crines Milne," leading from which ran a lane of the same name.

The *Dominican or Black Friars* had also an island on that branch of the River Stour called the "King's River," but lower down.

The Grey Friars seem very early to have got into contention with the Convent of Christ Church, having usurped and appropriated tenements belonging to that establishment; although this was directly at variance with the rule of their order, which was to the effect that the Brethren or Friars may appropriate nothing to themselves, neither house nor ground, nor any kind of substance, but be as pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving the Lord in poverty and humility.

Besides the island of Binnewith, the establishment of

the Friars had buildings over the Stour in "All Saints" and Saint Peter's parishes, some of the arches, walls, and doorways of which still remain picturesquely dilapidated. The pleasant gardens on the river bank give an idea that when the monastery flourished, it was no place in external appearance, at least, for mortification or solitude.

The Grey Friars, Franciscan or Minorites, first came into England, A.D. 1234,* nine in number. Three stopped at Canterbury, and founded the first house of their order near the Poor Priests' Hospital. At the dissolution, the Friery was granted (31 Henry VIII.) to Thomas Spellman.

The White Friars, called otherwise Augustine Friars.

They settled in Canterbury about A.D. 1325, not however without opposition, for having obtained a house in Saint George's parish, they tolled a bell, celebrated mass, and received oblations, without licence from the Archbishop, contrary to the privileges accorded to the Archiepiscopal See. Thereupon they were inhibited from celebrating mass, and cited before the Primate. However, a composition was finally arranged with Christ Church, as well as with the parson of Northgate, whose first fruits and oblations "the said Friars had infringed." The Friars speedily enlarged their premises, and opened their outward gate at a certain place or court within Saint George's, upon the highway or street, at the "Cloth Market," which they agreed to hold in fee of Christ Church for 2*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The "Old Gayole" (gaol) abutted on the west the premises of the White Friars. Some small portion of the ancient buildings of the Friars' house may still be detected.

To the leper houses and hospitals at Canterbury we add *St. James'* (Jacobus) in Wincheap. The establishment consisted of three priests and twenty-five leprous

* Dr. Hook's "Lives," vol. 2, 756, says, A.D. 1224, Sept. 11, four clerks and five laymen landed at Dover and proceeded to Canterbury. "They were lodged in a small room under the school-house of the Cathedral. Here, in the evening, some of the scholars joined them, when they had finished the scanty meal—doled out to them by the charity of the monks—they kindled a fire, and warmed their beer. The cup went merrily round, all drinking from one pot, for it was a part of their rule, wherever they might be, to make themselves agreeable and happy."

women. The building has, by Weever and Lambarde, been assigned to Queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III., but Somner considers it of earlier date. Very little of the original building is now visible.

The Nunnery of St. Sepulchre.

A portion of a wall of this establishment only remains. It is said to have been founded by Anselm, A.D. 1100. A Prioress and five, others say seven, black veiled nuns * constituted the establishment.

Here the sisterhood sheltered Elizabeth Barton, "the Maid of Kent," an enthusiast, who allowed herself to be made the tool of certain ecclesiastics, for which she was sacrificed to the resentment of King Henry VIII., especially as she inveighed against the spiritual authority he had assumed.

An account is preserved in the British Museum of her effects, seized after condemnation, and handed over by the Prioress of Saint Sepulchre to the civil authorities.

Amongst other items we note—"2 carpettes, whereof on ys cut into pecys, an old matteres (corse shelles?), a peyre of blankettes, with 2 pyllos and a bolster, a plater, 3 dysches, 2 saucers, a lyttill basin." The "lyttell basin" the Lady Prioress seemed to have taken a liking to, and paid 3*d.* for it. "A lyttell chryst, 2 canstyckes,

* Benedictine.

a piece of plancke for a tabell, a chest," &c., &c., not a very costly set of furniture or effects.

Some of the poor nun's clothes were also left behind, which the Lady Prioress seems to have begged for herself or the nuns, such as an "old mantell, and a kyrtell, an Iryshe mantell, a *colere*, with two grett chrystes," &c., &c.

The nuns, amongst other privileges, had the right to cut as much wood daily in the forest of Blean as one horse could bring home twice a day. We presume, however, this did not last all the year round.

In the graveyard attached to this house, abutting the Old Dover Road, was found beneath the Christian interments an extensive Roman cemetery, and below that a few British urns.

We give a sketch of the Nunnery of St. Sepulchre from an ancient drawing.

Poor Priests' Hospital,

a foundation of Simon de Langton, A.D. 1240, Archdeacon of Canterbury, with some assistance from other benefactors. The presentations to St. Margaret* and Stodmarsh Churches once belonged to it. It was originally instituted for the support of aged and infirm ecclesiastics. Its revenues were given in Queen Elizabeth's time to the Corporation, A.D. 1575, dependent upon certain conditions, but afterwards in the 1st George II. they were bestowed by Act of Parliament upon the guardians of the poor, with a provision for the education,† clothing, and putting out to apprenticeship of sixteen poor boys, who were chosen in by the Corporation as vacancies occurred. The *surplus* of the rents of the estates were to be devoted to the relief of the poor rates. Such a contingency has often occurred, but as often has arisen some unexpected expenditure which has absorbed that surplus.

As the property of the poor priests comprises in many instances slips of land of small dimensions interlying the freeholds of other parties (with the exception of houses

* Given by Roger, Abbot of St. Augustine, A D. 1271, in perpetual alms. The bells of the hospital had to ring in token whenever the Abbot passed.

† What sort of education the boys once received, we may judge from a fact that in going the boundaries, 2 November, 1772, of the six boys who went the "rounds" none of them could write, but set their marks.

in Canterbury and lands at Harbledown), the rentals have wonderfully increased in value.

In the time of Henry VIII. the gross rental was 28*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; in 1746 it was 128*l.* 10*s.*; but for the year ending June 1878, it amounted to 922*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*, exclusive of 12 acres of land in Hackington, lost by the improvidence of the Corporation a century ago, when they had the management of the estates.

Some portion of the ancient buildings remain in Stour Street, upon the banks of the river, one part being used as the Blue Coat School, and as a relief office; the other portion is let for business purposes to a tradesman.

When the writer had access to the archives of the Canterbury Incorporation, he was fortunate enough to rescue from loss or oblivion, amongst a number of unregarded papers, Queen Elizabeth's original grant of the poor priests' estate to the Mayor and citizens. The indorsement informed us it was obtained by John Rose, then Mayor, and Richard Baunce, the Sheriff of the city, being "suitors and solicitors in and about the procuring of the same, at the charge of the citizens to fifty pounds and more."

A great many acres once belonging to the poor priests' estates have been alienated improperly. A.D. 1572, there were more than 40 acres belonging to the estate in the parish of Ickham alone. See Grove, p. 3.

The deed of presentation from Robert, Abbot of St. Augustine's, which bestowed the Church of Stodmarsh on the hospital, A.D. 1243, binds the hospital to abstain from acquiring the rents of any other lands in the parish without the consent of the Abbot; and enjoins the presentation of a wax taper weighing one pound at the high altar of the monastery on St. Augustine's day.

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All Saints Church

Churches.

All Saints

is a modern church of a debased style of architecture, built near or partly upon the site of the ancient church, which stood more in the street. We give a Plate of the old church, No. 23.

All Saints contained at one time tombs or memorials to some of the principal inhabitants, amongst whom we might mention Roger Brent, M.P. for the city in the time of Edward IV., and John Coleman, buried in the Lady Chapel of the old building. He was a benefactor to the church.

Saint Elphege,

perhaps erected on the site of a now lost church, dedicated to the "Four Coronati." There is in the church a quaint inscription on one of the pillars—"Laude Prude Thoma, per quem fit ista columptnā." It had two rhyming epitaphs on John Piers and Richard Engeham, respectively, and a memorial to Henry Gosborne, four times Mayor of Canterbury in the 16th century. There was an epitaph to Agnes Hawke. The allusion thereon, quoted as beginning "The dance in the churchyard," evidently bears a reference to the engravings of the "Dance of Death," at one time highly popular. This tablet is now gone; it stood once against the north side of the church. St. Elphege Church, from need of timely repairs, is fast hastening to its fall, tower and all. Every part of the building seems equally dilapidated. It contains the monuments of several eminent citizens and people of Kent.

Isabell Fowle gave lands for a priest to celebrate mass, and for the purchase of a lamp to burn for ever before the high altar. John Sellom made a somewhat similar bequest. The above-mentioned Thomas Prude

bequeathed by his will, dated 1468, 5 marks to Christ Church, where he wished to be buried, and money to erect a pillar in St. Elphege Church, which indicates in some degree the date of the present building.

There is a memorial in the west aisle, with an iron helmet above it, to one of the Hadde family. John Caxton, the brother of the celebrated printer, lies buried in the church. He died October 12th, 1483. His will was proved at Canterbury the year following. He mentions no relations but his wife Isabella and his daughter Celia, but bequeaths sundry chattels, such as tablecloths and silver cups, to friends. He was a mercer of the parish of St. Elphege.

Saint Mary Bredin,

formerly called "Little Lady Dungeon Church." This is an entirely new church in the Early English style, erected in 1866, upon the site of an ancient church, founded by William, a descendant of Vitalis, one of the followers of William the Conqueror. The Church of St. Edmund of Ridingate was united to it some centuries ago. It contains many memorials removed from the older building. In digging for foundations for the present church a small vessel of clay, like an incense cup, was found. It might have indicated the presence, for religious rites, of some ancient worshippers.

The former church was very small, consisting of a nave, an aisle, and a chancel. It had a pointed wooden tower. The descent to the church was by several steps, which rendered it damp and unwholesome. The present modern church has a noble simplicity about it.

Saint Mary Bredman.

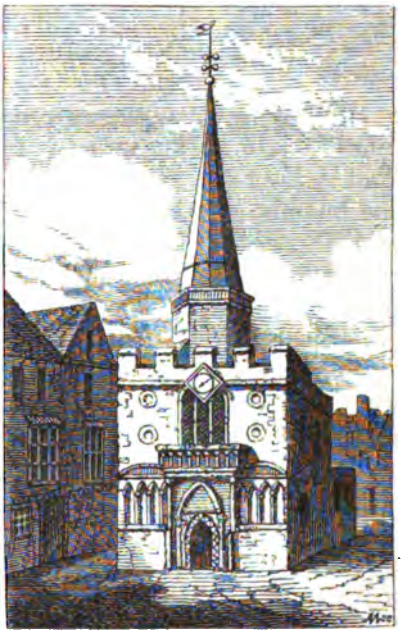
This was once a sort of official church, at which the Mayor and Corporation were accustomed to meet at the sound of the Burghmote horn for prayers, previous to commencing business in the Guildhall or "Spech House."

The old church had two aisles, a chancel, and a tower steeple; and it projected somewhat into the High

Street. St. Andrew's Gate stood once not far from it. It had a memorial tablet to John Duncombe, who wrote the history of Herne and Reculver. It bore at one time the name of St. Mary Andresgate, and the names of Bredman and Fisherman, owing to its proximity to the Bread and Fish Markets. The Church House adjoining has a window opening into St. Mary's at the south-west side.

Saint Andrew.

The old church had one nave, a chancel, and a spire on its tower. We give a woodcut of it. It stood in the middle of the street, nearly opposite Mercery Lane, but not so far west. The only ways through St. George's Street were by passages on each side of the church. It was pulled down A.D. 1763, and a new church built further back, behind the houses, south. Some of the monuments, at first removed to the Cathedral, were afterwards placed in the new church, A.D. 1764.



Some of the gravestones and tombs of the old parishoners and others, lying in the main street, are still found when our city improvements lead to deep drainages or to sewer connections.

The great great grandfather of Dean Swift, Thomas Swift, was a Rector of this parish, and died 1592, and was buried in the old church; his mural monument is preserved in the porch of the new one; and one of his sons was also a Rector of this church, who died 1624. The living was united to that of St. Mary Bredman as long since as 1681.

A Mrs. Cadd, A.D. 1706, left lands in Stodmarsh to the church.

Saint George.

This church now consists of a nave, two aisles, and a chancel. The aisles are divided from the nave by 5 pairs of pillars, but the building has of late years received additions and alterations. The church was originally of Norman style. It has two memorial stained-glass windows, dating 1846 and 1850:—one at the east end, to Mrs. Kingsford, and one at the west end, to the Hon. Mrs. Isaacke. The windows of the church are decorated and perpendicular. The most ancient relic it contains is an octagonal font, supported by seven shafts and a central pillar. It has an incised brass to John Lovelle, who died A.D. 1438. There are entries in the Registers of the burials of the Barrett, Hasted, Hardres, and other families.

Most of the pillars in the north aisle were brought from St. Mary Magdalen's, when that church was demolished, A.D. 1871.

The steeple of St. George's church, of which we give a woodcut, was taken down about A.D. 1794. There is a piscina and a shrine niche in the south aisle.

Saint Mary Northgate.

This church stood originally over the city gateway, at least part of it. A vault of the old structure, called an "Hermitage," was fashioned like a cross, as Hasted informs us, in one part of it. The present church dates from 1830 only. It contains a mural incised brass to one of the Mayors, Ralph Brown, which, if he were a literate man, he certainly did not compose; it is as follows:—

"All ye that stand up pon mi corse,
Remember but lat Raff. Brown I was,
All dyr man and Mayer of this cete,
Jesu a pon mi sowll have pete!"

There is a label issuing from the mouth of the effigy inscribed, "Mater Dei memento mei." Ralph Brown was Mayor A.D. 1507. This memorial was removed from the old structure.

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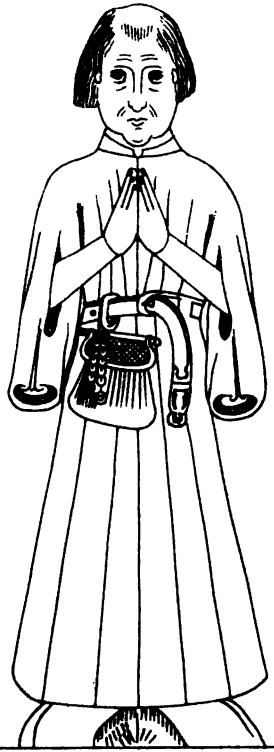
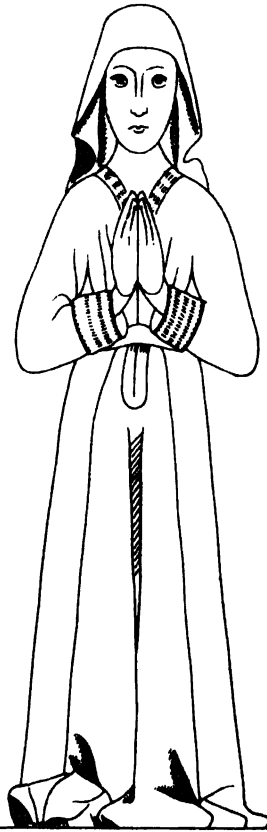


Hic jacet Cristoforus Klook Draper qui obiit tercio die mensis Septembris Anno dñi millio CCCCLxxxvb cuius Anime propicietur deus Amen



Hic jacet Margareta Klook que obiit xxvii die mensis Marcii Anno Domini Millmo CCCCLxxxviiio cuius Anime propicietur deus Amen

INCISED MONUMENTAL BRASSES BURGATE CHURCH
CHRISTOPHER AND MARGARETA KLOOK

Northgate church was united to Saint Alphage about two centuries since.

Saint Mary Magdalen,

now no more. The tower of the demolished church still remains. It was built A.D. 1503. The church had two aisles and a chancel, and a square tower. Within the tower is an elaborate monument to the Whitfield family. It was removed from the body of the old church, A.D. 1871, when the building was taken down. St. Mary Magdalen is united to St. George. There were stolen from the church, when it was being demolished, all the incised monumental brasses. One of these was inscribed to Christopher Klook and his wife Margarita: Klook was an eminent draper of this city. The memorial is interesting from its age, being the oldest incised brass extant in Canterbury, excepting an inscription in St. Martin's Church, dated 1406. The dates on the brasses to Klook and his wife are 1495 and 1494 and the memorial is worth preservation as affording a description of one of the ancient purses used by merchants and others, called a "gypsare." The costume of the worthy citizen is also deserving of notice. Fortunately, I am able to give an exact representation of these two brasses—Klook and wife—from a rubbing taken by Mr. Cecil Brent before the destruction of the church. See Plate No. 13.

Saint Mildred.

This church has a nave and a chancel, and a north aisle running through the chancel. There is a vestry on the south side called the "Attwood Chapel," and another chapel on the north side of the church. The church appears to have been the work of different periods. It has a large perpendicular window at the east end. The other windows, as regards style, must be called "various." It is a fine old structure nevertheless, and very interesting. The greater part of the building was destroyed by fire, A.D. 1246. The church is literally endowed for charities to poor parishioners, but affords to its energetic rector a very inadequate stipend. The tombs, graves, and memorials to several well-known families are or

were to be found in the church and churchyard; amongst many others we mention Sandys, Glover, Bridger, Rigden, Honeywood, and Thomas Cranmer, a nephew of the Archbishop, Captain Riou, Sir Thomas Head, &c. &c.

In the Register Book of St. Mildred is an entry dated October 2, 1783, stating that a tax had just been levied by the Government of threepence for the entry of every register of births, christenings, marriages, and burials. This has been long since repealed.

Saint Margaret.

Some portion is of Norman architecture. The church has decorated and perpendicular windows. The roof is low, but the interior of the church is very beautiful. The tympanum of the west doorway was filled with sculptures, alternating with human heads, three on each side, but they no longer exist. The present doorway has a modern appearance. The church consists of a nave, two aisles, and a chancel. There is a chapel on the south side, wherein the font is placed. It had two chapels dedicated respectively to the Virgin and to St. John. There is a piscina in the west aisle, and the church has three stained-glass windows in the chancel; they are modern, but executed with taste. In the north aisle is a tablet to William Somner, author of the "Antiquities of Canterbury." It was erected by Barbara his wife.

This church has been much altered and decorated within the last few years, due in some part to the taste of a former rector, Mr. Woodall. The carvings are chaste, and the general effect is good. The church anciently was part of the patrimony of St. Augustine, and was given by the convent, A.D. 1271, to the Hospital of the Poor Priests. Besides Somner's, there are several other mural tablets; and in the south aisle is a bust in a recess high up, almost out of sight, removed from its former place near the altar. It is a memorial to John Watson, and exhibits the practice of *colouring* monumental stone or marble. There is also a recumbent figure of Sir George Newman at the head of the south aisle. He died A.D. 1627. There stands adjoining the steeple a small embattled tower to the west.

St. Paul.

This church also was part of the patrimony of St. Augustine's. The structure has been so much enlarged during recent years, that it may be said to have been almost rebuilt. It now consists of a nave, two aisles, and a chancel. It has two incised monumental brasses. The old church had round Early English pillars, which might date from the reign of Henry III. The present structure has a modern memorial window contributed by the late W. Furley, Esq. There are several windows after the decorated style.

St. Peter.

is a church of small dimensions, with a nave and two aisles and a chancel. There is a decorated window over the altar. The font is ancient. The church has a square tower. There are some monumental brasses. Sir William Sepvans, of an ancient Kentish family, and his wife, were interred in this church, and some of the family of the Ickhams. The church has three pointed arches on each side of the nave, dividing it from the aisles. These seem ancient. On the north side of the church are two windows of Early English style, and on the south side some late decorated windows.

Holy Cross, Westgate.

In connection with the name which this structure bears, a crucifix stood anciently over the porch, for the preservation of which a bequest was left, A.D. 1521. This church was once celebrated for the performance of sacred dramas. It had a chantry for a priest of the Jesus' Mass, and the guild of Corpus Christi held their meetings in this building. The church has a nave, two aisles, and a chancel. There are six ancient benches or stalls of oak, with sculptured seats. Some of the windows are late decorated, some perpendicular.

The present church may have been erected in the time of Richard II., when an older church which existed in the tower of the Westgate was demolished. The tower

itself was then pulled down to make way for the present gateway erected by Archbishop Sudbury. The incumbent of Westgate was formerly a sort of chaplain to the prisoners who were confined in the prison at the gateway. A chantry once adjoined the church, the remains of which were visible in Hasted's time.

Saint Dunstan.

This building stands beyond the walls; it has a nave and two aisles. A sort of pilgrimage has been more than once paid to it, to see or to endeavour to see the decapitated head of Sir Thomas More. Twice in our recollection has this relic been taken from the shrine in which the affectionate grief and piety of a beloved daughter had placed it (Margaret Roper), and held up in all its ghastly state to the view of dilettanti relic seekers and sights' mongers. One of the bells in the church bears the name of Anthony Roper, a descendant of Margaret Roper. It is dated 1629.

Saint Martin's Church.

This church must dispute with St. Pancras the honour of representing the church of the oldest Christian community in Canterbury, and we might say, in Kent. Bede would carry its foundation back to the early Christians, when the Romans still occupied the country.

St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, to whom the church is dedicated, died A.D. 395, so that if it existed as a Christian church previously to this date, it could not have primarily been dedicated to him.

The general opinion is that Queen Bertha, the Christian wife of Ethelbert, either used this building, or one on its site, for her devotions, or else converted a heathen temple, forming the ancient site of St. Martin, into a Christian church under the guidance of her chaplain, Lindhard. Augustine is said to have celebrated mass here—other authorities say at St. Pancras.

The present church has, within the last few years, been restored, and some of its features of antiquity obliterated. However, there are strong evidences of Roman work in the external walls (south), where the

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Font_S^{t} Martins

aisle and chancel meet. Several feet indeed of Roman masonry exist apparently, and one or two very ancient arches. Hasted has given an interesting engraving of the old church previous to the restorations. There is still a Norman piscina in the south wall. The font is a cylindrical stone, two feet six high by two feet six in width. It consists of three tiers, a circular rim, and a rude base. The first tier, and perhaps all the tiers, are transition Norman. The highest tier under the rim consists of interlacing arches; the second, of nail-headed ornaments on circular bands, which intertwine; the third or lowest tier exhibits scroll-work ornament. Each tier with the rim and base are separate. The ornaments are in low relief (see Plate 28).* The seal of St. Augustine's Convent has been compared to the font, at least a certain compartment of the seal, but I can see little similitude. In the seal are St. Peter and St. Paul seated under arched canopies (see Plate No. 26), whilst another department of the seal portrays St. Augustine baptizing King Ethelbert. The seal is probably of late Norman design.

Had St. Martin's been a Christian church in the time of Lucius, A.D. 132, whose very existence is involved in obscurity, we must conclude that it became, during part at least of the Roman occupation of Canterbury, desecrated to heathen practices. It might then have been restored in accordance with the wishes and under the directions of Queen Bertha. However, be this as it may, it became a Christian church thenceforth; and for nearly 350 years from the time of Theodore, it gave a title to a bishop, who might, and probably did, consider this little church his own cathedral. Lanfranc, however, by the consent of a council held in London, 1075, substituted an Archdeaconry at Canterbury for the Bishopric of St. Martin.

In the church is an incised brass to Thomas Stoughton, late of Ash, who died 4th June 1591, and another to Michael Francis Sertivoli and Jane his wife, who died July 10th, 1587, both on the same day. There is also a brass plate to Stephen Falkes and Alys his wife,

* This plate was taken from a drawing made before the font was placed upon its present base.

dated 1406. This is the oldest incised brass memorial in Canterbury.

The church contains many memorial stones and tablets to the relatives or connections of the families of Hales, Finch, Hanson, Sandys, Pyott, Hougham, Conyers, &c., &c. On the wall, over a plain stone tomb, left of the altar, is an inscription in Latin. It records that the remains of Queen Bertha repose beneath the tomb. The best authorities state, however, that Bertha was not buried at St. Martin, but in the porch of St. Augustine's Abbey, or in the Chapel of St. Martin, at St. Augustine's.

The present church has been renovated with good taste. An imitation of an antique oratory adorns the interior. The floor of the communion table, as well as that of the oratory, is richly inlaid with coloured tiles.

The church contains several windows of stained glass. Some of these are comparatively modern, as is one to St. Martin, representing the saint dividing his cloak with the beggar.

An ancient sepulchral cross was dug up in the churchyard, *circa* 1815. It bore upon it the word "Herbryght," in raised characters within a hollowed channel. The tracery of this cross is said to refer to the late decorated or early perpendicular styles.

The crowded state of the churchyard, the multitude of tombs fronting the church itself (in one of these graves repose the remains of the respected Dean Alford*) mar in some degree the quiet harmony of the scene. From this spot, looking towards Canterbury, there is a prospect of the Cathedral and its central tower, rising in majestic state out of the scenery around it. As we gaze we can hardly help being carried back to scenes in "Olden Time," when the first group of Christians were gathered around the altar, which Roman proselytes had set up, and Queen Bertha's piety had consecrated.

Churches in Canterbury.

The churches were formerly far more numerous than at present, although it is possible one or two of the

* On the east end of Dean Alford's tomb, in the churchyard, is the following significant inscription: "Deversorium viatoris Hierosolymam Proficientis."

later buildings have been erected upon or close by the sites of the more ancient structures. Besides the present existing parish churches—St. Mary Magdalen having been recently dismantled, and the parish, as far as it relates to religious observances, united to Saint George the Martyr—we have to record the following suppressed churches:—"The Church of the Blessed Virgin." It is said to have stood in the west part of the city. This is all we know. Saint Michael, near the gate in Burgate, afterwards united to Saint Mary Magdalen; Saint Edmund, just without the Ridingate, afterwards united to Saint Mary Bredin; Saint Sepulchre, attached to the Nunnery in the Old Dover Road; Saint Mary de Castro, abutting St. Mary's Street. The old church remained for some time, but there are no vestiges of it now existing; Saint John le Poor, near the last, but more eastward. It was united to Saint Mary de Castro, A.D. 1349.* There is an entry to that effect in the parish book of Saint Mildred.

Hasted mentions a church called "Saint Mary of Queeningate," which stood near the ancient gate of that name, which led into the Cathedral precincts. In this direction Queen Bertha might have proceeded to her devotions at St. Martin. There was also a church called the Church of the Four Crowned Martyrs (Coronati). Battely does not seem to know where this edifice stood. It might have occupied the site of the present church of St. Elphage. Of all these churches there are now no remains above ground.

In respect of St. Mary de Castro, the district over which it presided is still extra parochial; and as mention is made, A.D. 1542, of three of the bells being sold to the parishioners of Lower Hardres, we may conclude that about that period the church was dismantled.

A church is also mentioned called "The Church of St. John the Baptist," near the east end of the Cathedral, but it was burnt down before Battely's time.

Of the Nonconformist chapels, of which there are seven or eight in Canterbury, the only building which has any claim to antiquity is that of the "Black Friars."

* The revenues of the churches at this date were valued, for St. Mary, 5 marks; for St. John, 40 shillings.

It was the ancient refectory of the Dominican Monks, and some remains of the old windows and arches are still to be observed. The new Congregationalist chapel has a handsome front; and the Roman Catholic Church, Burgate, Mr. J. G. Hall, architect, erected in the early decorated style, is a structure exhibiting much architectural beauty. The church of the New Cemetery, also by Mr. Hall, is an elegant building.

Chapel of St. Pancras.

It is now completely ruinous. A pointed archway, probably the chancel arch, remains, built mostly of Roman tiles. Part of the walls are still standing, and there is a portion of a wall adjoining built entirely of Roman tiles, but patched in places by modern work. The shape of the eastern arch seems to render it unlikely that that part of the building is anything but a restoration. The great quantity of Roman materials still remaining, arched in with other masonry, give evidence of the existence of a Roman building or temple standing in or near this spot in Roman times. The chapel now measures 31 feet in length by 21. This little bit of ruins, existing between St. Martin's Church on the one side and St. Augustine's on the other, and allied with the traditions of its ancient uses, is an object of much interest. St. Augustine is said to have held religious service in this chapel; and the same thing is said of him at St. Martin's, and that he purged it of its former idolatrous worship; but there is some confusion about its history, and we scarcely know whether, as regards priority of time, we are to look to St. Pancras or to St. Martin's as the spot where Bertha worshipped and her chaplain Lindhard officiated. It is not likely that the two places were sites of Christian worship at the same time before the arrival of St. Augustine. The Queen is said to have been buried first at St. Martin's, and then removed to St. Augustine's; but the claim of St. Martin, in spite of the inscription in the church to that effect, is disowned by the best authorities. One thing is certain, that such a relic as this little chapel ought to be preserved, even if only in its ruins, and rescued from its present desecration. It is devoted by the present occupier to the

keeping and fattening of hogs, and is in a most disgraceful and ruinous condition.

The uses to which it was once devoted in its early claim as a Christian Church, and the spells of gentleness and devotion attached to the memory of Bertha herself, ought to call up conservators and friends to hasten at once to its rescue and to save it, not only from the ravages of time, but from a pollution worse than any evils storm or decay or open assault can inflict upon it.

Hasted tells us that in 1361 Ralph, a chaplain and a very devout man, took shelter in St. Pancras from a tempest, but the chancel having been newly repaired, was shaken, and a great beam fell down over the shrine of the Virgin and killed the poor ecclesiastic. He was buried in the chapel before the cross under a marble slab.

Money was left in 1491 by one Henry Beale for the repairs of the chapel. There were other benefactors in 1478 and 1525. John Alcock, Mayor of the city in 1525, was buried in it beside his wife. The interments of several other Canterbury citizens may be recorded, reaching down to a period as late as the middle of the 16th century.

We ask again, amongst the wealthy and high-minded of our countrymen, is there no one prepared to rescue from ruin and desecration a spot sacred in the earliest annals of the Christian faith in England?

Church Bells.

Cathedral Bells.—The great bell in St. Dunstan's tower is one of the largest in England. It weighs 3½ tons, being heavier than any other bell rung in a peal, and only 8 cwt. less than the 4 quarter bell at Westminster. The bell "Harry" on the top of the great central tower bears date 1603; it is rung as a curfew bell, and as a passing bell on the death of the Sovereign and the Archbishop.

There are ten bells in the St. Dunstan's tower. The oldest *dated* bell is A.D. 1726. On one bell, No. 10, is the following quaint inscription, dated 1778:—

"Ye ringers all that prize
Your health and happiness,
Be sober, merry, wise,
And you'll the same possess."

The bell tower (campanile), once in the garden of the 8th Prebendary, contained eight bells; the largest, "Bell Thomas," weighed 8,000 lbs. There were three others in the "Clocario," weighing respectively 2,400, 2,200, and 2,000 lbs.

St. Martin's Church has three bells; the oldest, dated 1608, is by J. Hatch, as are all the other bells in this church.

St. Peter has three bells, two not dated, and one is inscribed "+ Sancta Maria ora pro nobis." St. Dunstan has six bells. The oldest is by Joseph Hatch, 1605. There is another inscribed "Antho. Roop, av^{r}; Sac., Peny.; Vic., Spencer. Joseph Hatch made me, 1629." It may be interpreted "Anthony Roper, gentleman; Sacristan, Penny; Vicar, Spencer. Anthony Roper was doubtless a descendant of Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More, whose decapitated head is enshrined in a vault in St. Dunstan's Church.

St. George has four bells; two of the bells are by J. Hatch. On one bell is inscribed, "+ Sa,te George ora pro nobis." These bells are not earlier than the 17th century. All Saints, one bell, by J. Hatch, 1627. St. Margaret, five bells, all by Hatch, one dated 1599. St. Paul has three bells. St. Andrew, one bell—"Robertus Mot me fecit, 1597. St. Mary Northgate, four bells, three by Hatch, one a modern bell by Mears, A.D. 1813. St. Alphage, three bells, the oldest dated 1616, by J. Hatch.

Mr. H. W. Jones, of Uppingham, who has kindly afforded me the above information from his own personal examination, not without considerable labour, informs me that Joseph Hatch, the chief founder of our Canterbury bells, was of Ulcomb, Kent. He married Jane Prode, of Canterbury, by licence, 20th December, 1607. His tomb is still to be seen in the churchyard at Broomfields.

St. Mildred's Church has one bell; a second bell was some years since purchased of the Herne Bay Pier Company, but it met with an accident on its journey to Canterbury, and being rendered useless, was subsequently sold for 30*l.*

St. Mary Bredman has one bell. St. Mary Bredin has three bells, removed from the steeple of the former

church. Westgate has five bells; one of these is a very ancient bell, the oldest church bell in Canterbury probably. It is inscribed "× Stephanus Nortone de Kent me Fecit,"—no date. There are three bells from Joseph Hatch's foundry, 1608, 1608, 1615, and one dated 1759, inscribed "John Fisher, Church Warden."

A new clock was put up, A.D. 1856, in the St. Dunstan's tower of the Cathedral. It strikes the quarters on the 5th and 8th bell of the peal, and the hour on the great single bell in the top of the tower. The former clock was nearly two hundred years old.

Church Spoils.

The Archæologia Cantiana, vol. viii. p. 74, contains an inventory of the plate, vestments, &c., carried off by the Commissioners, *temp.* Edward VI. I must refer those who wish for the whole of the particulars to the work as above, and can only give a few details from Mr. Walcot's interesting paper. "Relating to Saint Paul;" there is a curious entry, item, "a clothe of red damaske to lay upon *corpses*, and for *weddings*." Item, "little albes for children to bear tapers." "Five surplices, good and *bad*." A monstrous of silver, parcel gilt. In Northgate Church, three chests and the "*poor man's* chest." In St. Mary Bredin, a book of the Act concerning the Rebells. Three bells and the Waggerell bell* in the steeple. In St. Margaret, a stock of money, 15*s.*, a cope of white velvet with a redd lyon. In Westgate, six corporasses with their cases. From Christ Church there was delivered "Becket's staff and 323 ounces of silver plate."

These are but a few of the items amongst some hundreds of entries respecting chalices, copes, vestments, patens, candlesticks, altar cloths, prayer books, &c., carried off by the Commissioners. In almost every instance the bells seem to have been taken from the steeples.

* Waggerell bell. The Rev. D. H. Haigh has informed me that this bell was doubtless the Sacring bell. It was hung in a little cote of its own, and not in the steeple. Its object was to warn worshippers who did not see the altar at the time of consecration, that they might kneel down and show proper reverence.

St. Augustine's.

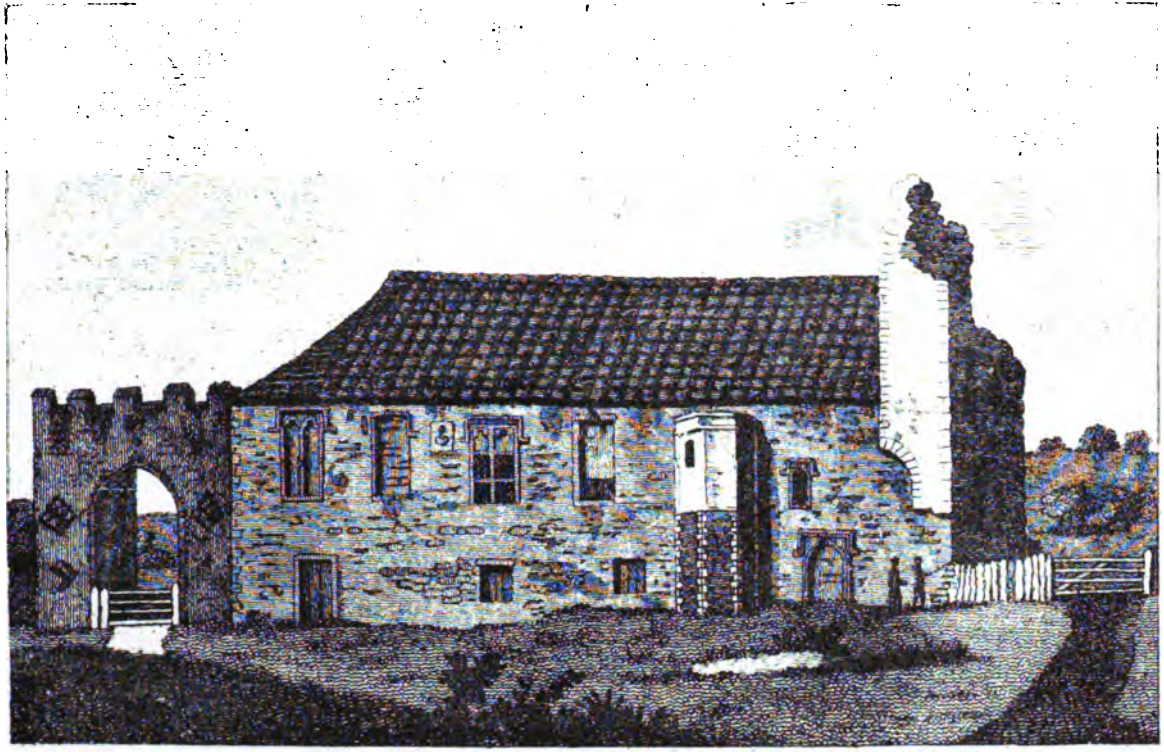
The building of the monastery, commenced in the time of Augustine, was not completed until his successor, Laurentius, held the See of Canterbury, and by him it was consecrated.

The monastery of Saint Augustine was at one time one of the most celebrated of the religious houses in England. In Papal bulls it was called the "First-Born." The right, however, to this title was disputed by the monastery of Christ Church. They were, in fact, sister foundations belonging to the earliest years of the seventh century, the first institutions of the English Church. The Archbishop was enjoined "not to visit the monks as their Prelate, but as a brother, not out of the pretence of prelacy, but out of the duty of love." Pope John 13th, A.D. 955, commanded the monks of Christ Church, who are said to have envied those of St. Austin, not to molest the convent under any plea whatever. Afterwards the Pope exempted the monastery from any intermediate powers of the Archbishops, and took it entirely under his protection.

Pope Alexander II., A.D. 1063, confers on the Abbot Egilsine, who was sent to him on an embassy, honours and privileges which belonged to the episcopal dignity only; nor were the Kings of England behindhand in heaping powers and privileges and possessions upon the great monastery. Athelstan granted a licence for a mint for coining money. This lasted until the time of King Stephen, when the privilege was taken away.

One of the Aldermanries of Canterbury was held by the monastery in fee of the Crown, but the city subsequently became possessed of it in exchange.

A.D. 1103, St. Augustine's monastery had the privilege—a highly esteemed one in those times—of holding a fair for five days yearly. This fair continued to be held until the time of Edward I., when it was discontinued on account of the many quarrels and contentions which took place in the churchyard of the convent where the fair was held, and the exactions for beer and ale



Chapel in St Augustin's Monastry, Canterbury

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Seal_St Augustine's Monastery

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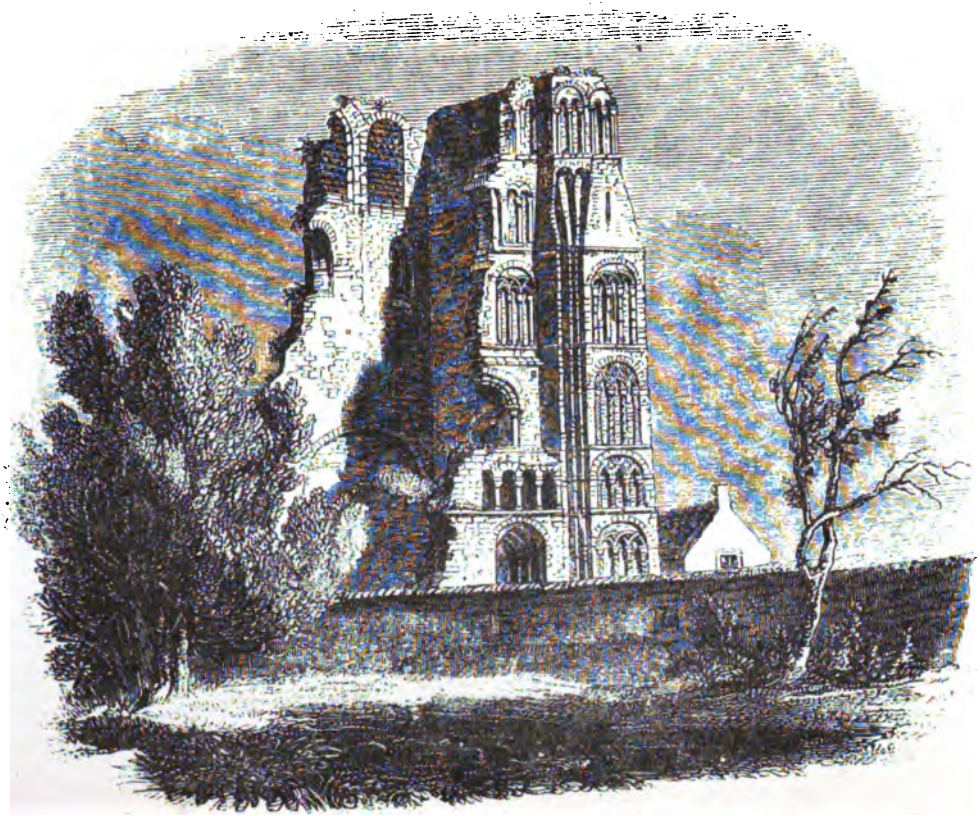

St Ethelbert's Tower.

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which the bailiffs of the city authorised. A fair was subsequently granted for two days on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and again another fair for the sale of cattle and husbandry only, to last one day.

Large sums of money were borrowed of the convent by the Kings, Edward III. and Richard II. Hasted tells us that the first introduction of the art of printing was *claimed* by the convent, but incorrectly; the first press was set up in Westminster, A.D. 1471, and another press at St. Alban's, A.D. 1481. The convent rivalled the Priory of Christ Church. For a long time it was the more important of the two. In the middle ages especial reverence was attached to the burial-place of saints, and here lay, besides the Apostle of the English, all the distinguished dead, whom we shall mention presently; but the martyrdom of Becket, and the consequent afflux of pilgrims who brought their contributions to his shrine, and the increased importance of the Cathedral therefrom, was a source of bitterness to the monks; yet the Archbishops often visited the convent, and paid their devotions privately to the shrine of St. Augustine. The Abbot* had a special privilege of wearing the mitre, the sandals, and the gloves, after the manner of Prelates of the Episcopal order. The Abbot of St. Augustine's might indeed be called, as he was considered, an Abbot Sovereign, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, and holding in Parliament and in general councils his place as a Spiritual Peer. His London house was in Bermondsey.

There was attached to the monastery a high court, where pleas were heard and actions of debt determined between the vassals of the convent. A gaol also existed in Longport, near the precincts of the Abbey. The jurisdiction of the Society extended over the whole of ten parishes, over a part of a hundred more, and into districts of Canterbury itself.

* Dr. Hook's "Lives," vol. 4, p. 174, gives a further description of an Abbot of one of the great ecclesiastical monasteries. How, when he sat in Parliament, he appeared in his gown, his hood, and his cassock. When he rode forth to take pastime, it was "with hawk on his fist, mounted on his mule, with gilt bridle, and with saddle and cloth of blood colour." His retinue of 100 horse equalled, if it did not surpass, that of a Bishop.

Whether, owing to contentions arising from the fair, or from other causes, and that the general bearing of the monks was haughty and unbending, the convent was at times unpopular with the citizens, and we may add, with other religious establishments.

A.D. 1207, when the Monks of Christ Church were exiled by King John for daring to elect Stephen Langton as Archbishop, the Monks of St. Augustine, upon application, performed religious duties in the Cathedral in their stead, a part they are said to have fulfilled with alacrity on account of the hatred which they bore to the Monks of Christ Church.*

The origin of the monastery dates back to the time of King Ethelbert, who, by the advice of Augustine, commenced the construction of this house.

When completed, the King, at the solemnity of Christmas, by the consent and approbation of all present, Bertha his Queen, his son Eadbald, and his Nobles attending, at the instance of Augustine, delivered up the monastery to God and to the monks for ever.

Here were buried Ethelbert, Bertha, and all the Christian Kings of Kent, as well as Augustine himself, and the nine Archbishops who immediately succeeded him; and long after Canterbury had been provided with parochial churches, St. Augustine's was the churchyard for those parishes which had no burial-place of their own. The memory of this is still preserved by the name of the Cemetery Gate. Through this portal the Deal Road ran until the monks procured its diversion to its present position outside their walls.

The Abbey in the first instance was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. This continued until A.D. 978, when Dunstan dedicated it also to Augustine, who had been canonized since the erection of the Abbey. The structure of the monastery gradually increased in size and importance, for new buildings were being added continually. Eadbald, son of Ethelbert, who apostatised after his father's death, on his repentance built a fair church within the convent. Canute, the Dane, with other benefactors, is said to have added to the buildings.

* Matt. Paris, quoted by Dr. Hook's "Lives," vol. 2, p. 671.

The temporalities of the convent consisted, A.D. 1162, according to Hume, of 11,862 acres of land; and in the reign of King Richard II. the spiritualities and temporalities together yielded when taxed 1,232*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.*

One of the strangest historical problems is how to account for the escape of the monastery from those ravages of the Danes which were so fatal to the city and to the Cathedral.

In the calamitous year A.D. 1011, when Archbishop Elphege was martyred, Elmer, Abbot of the monastery, was left unharmed. Perhaps he paid a ransom, although we have no evidence that he did so.‡ The monastery was not injured by the invaders to any extent. However, in 1168 the Abbey was much damaged by fire, the ancient writings and charters were destroyed, the church itself almost ruined, and the shrines greatly impaired. It is said the Pope granted for the restitution of the buildings to the Abbot and convent the appropriation of Faversham, Minster and Middleton.

A.D. 1271, when Canterbury was almost drowned by a storm and flood, the monastery again escaped, miraculously, as it is stated by some of its friends.

In spite of great revenues there were periods when the house fell into much pecuniary distress. Take, for instance, the following relation of Henry Berry, a monk, we presume, who, writing to his friend John Paston,* informs him, January 28th 1464, "How Sevenoke the Abbot dying, left the community in great debt;" adding, "The holdyst brother in our place never herd nor saw our church in that mysere that is now." "They had hardly bread to eat." Another account relates, long previous to this, that is, in the reign of Edward I.,† the monastery was in pecuniary distress. One of the monks, writing to the "Sacrist," says: "That for three weeks they had not a grain of barley to support their household,

* Paston Letters—483, vol. 2, p. 146.

† Edward I., on his return from Gascony, claimed the hospitality of the monks. The King invited the Archbishop to dine with him. The monks, however, declined to receive the prelate if he entered their presence with his *cross erect*. Such were the trifles which once were sources of contention.—See Dr. Hook, vol. 3, p. 343.

‡ The "A. S." Chronicle says, his safety was the reward of his betraying the city.

nor could they make malt, nor sow their lands, for none of their neighbours would let them have corn; and, what was still worse and more disgraceful to their profession, they were forced to procure drink in alehouses."*

A series of bad harvests might have affected the rental of the monastery; but there was another cause that often impoverished the abbeys, and even the Episcopal Sees—the exactions of the Court of Rome and the large sums prelates often had on their election to squander to obtain the consent of the Pope to their consecration. Not for months only but for years had some of the newly-elected prelates to hang about the Holy City, feeing the cardinals and others to obtain even a hearing that they might present the credentials of their appointments, and procure the consent of the confirmation of their election.

Abbot Berry was for some years absent from England on a quest like this; and he spent, either from his own resources or from the revenues of his monastery, large sums of money before he could obtain consecration.†

Poverty was not the only evil the poor monks had to endure. There is an act recorded of the Norman Lanfranc as humiliating to the convent as it is extraordinary in reference to the character of the Archbishop himself. Provoked, we are told, by many years of opposition and illwill, Lanfranc determined by a despotic act to break the pride and insubordination of the monks. So one day (we are not even informed if the office of Abbot were vacant, but presume it was), he appeared before the gates of the monastery and peremptorily ordered the monks to receive one Wydo as their Abbot. They declined to do so. Then Lanfranc commanded every one who refused to vote for Wydo to leave the monastery one by one. They left, and the Archbishop took possession of the building "with considerable state," says Dr. Hook:‡ "Lanfranc entered the convent, installed Wydo, and made over to him the monastery."

The Prior was imprisoned; the unfortunate monks

* Prynne—"Registers of the Monastery of St. Augustine," vol. 3, p. 161, quoted by Hasted, vol. 2, 699.

† Dr. Hook's "Lives," vol. 2, p. 711, gives a curious anecdote of "one Master Otho," in confirmation of the above exactions of the See of Rome.

‡ "Lives," vol. 2, p. 160.

went in a body and took refuge in St. Mildred's Church. Lanfranc then sent to them and told them, "that if they returned by the ninth hour they should be re-admitted; if they refused to come they would be treated as renegadoes." Pressed by hunger, it is said, the monks gave in; they returned, and were courteously received by the new Abbot.

The buildings of the monastery, after its suppression by Henry VIII., A.D. 1538, gradually fell into decay. It was sequestrated to various persons. One proprietor pulled down the hall to furnish materials for a public house, which he held in High Street, near the present Guildhall. Nay, even the foundations of the buildings and the stone coffins of the Religious and others in the cemetery were carried away to assist another proprietor in erecting his mansion at Hales Place. The wainscotting of the great parlour was applied to the requirements of buildings comparatively modern. A print in Dugdale's "Monasticon" shows that in 1655 the abbey church, built by the two first Norman Abbots, Scoland and Wydo, A.D. 1070 & 1091, and the greater part of the other buildings, had disappeared; little remained but St. Ethelbert's tower, the north-west tower of the church, the great gateway, and some other buildings of the great court, which is now the College quadrangle. See Plates 25, 26, 27, 29.

Cardinal Pole secured the monastery as a gift from Philip and Mary; and in 1573 Queen Elizabeth kept her court here in one of her royal progresses.

A number of proprietors seem to have possessed the Abbey in turn—Henry, Lord Cobham, Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, also Thomas, Lord Wotton of Morley. Yet none of these owners ever acted as conservators of the buildings. The beautiful structure called "St. Ethelbert's Tower" * having partly fallen in 1822, was shortly afterwards destroyed by a battering ram.

The ruins and ground plot of the Abbey were in 1844

* St. Ethelbert's Tower had an internal space about 16 feet square, walls 4½ thick. It was erected A D. 1038–50, and was a fine piece of Norman architecture. The ancient nave of the monastery was about 175 feet long, the internal length of the minster about 320 feet.

sold for 2,100*l.*, and purchased by A. J. B. Hope, Esq., M.P., the owner of Bedgebury Park. The work of restoration speedily commenced. New buildings arose, a new life seemed to come out of the old shadows that lay so long over and around the ruins. It was not identical with the ancient house, but such were the pains taken to preserve as much as possible of the old work that seemed worth preserving, that it appeared in parts a perfect restoration. The great gateway,* in the decorated style of architecture,† remained nearly intact, save for necessary repairs of such decay as weather and time had effected for centuries, or the desecrating hand of man had produced, when purposes of commerce consigned it to the requirements of a brewery for a certain period. It had, however, some years previously been partially repaired through the efforts of a few public-spirited individuals and some of the leading members of the "Canterbury Literary Institution." "Pull it down, and sell the materials," was the cry, as in the case of a less important structure—St. George's Gate. Happily, however, for the honour of the city this act of spoliation was averted.

Mr. Hope was determined to restore the building to its ancient appearance as far as possible. The abominations of "Fives' Courts" and skittles, by which portions of the remains had been desecrated, were swept away. For one part of the structure (formerly one of the guest halls of the abbey) had been converted into a tavern, called the "Old Palace," where, within the present century, many a "main of cocks had been fought," whilst displays of fireworks, balloon ascents, &c., in the grounds behind the inn, gave an occasional variety to the amusements of the place, not exactly in accordance with any sentiment which had inspired the erection of the ancient buildings.

The foundations of the refectory having been discovered, the outlines of the walls accurately traced, a building arose destined to be the college library. The

* Erected by Abbot Fyndon. It is 66 feet high by 33-9 wide. Fyndon became Abbot A.D. 1284.

† The charter granting permission to "embattle" the New Gate was given by Edward II. A D. 1308.

great room of the tavern just mentioned was stript of its modern features; it is now the dining hall.

The ruins adjoining a small chapel traditionally called the "Abbot's Chapel," but more probably one intended for the use of guests, were restored and enlarged for the daily service of the College. The remains of the Abbot's house, lying to the south of this chapel, were incorporated with the structure built for the use of the Warden and with the rooms assigned to the Fellows. On the north side of the quadrangle, between the gateway and the library, an entirely new range of buildings was erected to contain the separate rooms of the students.

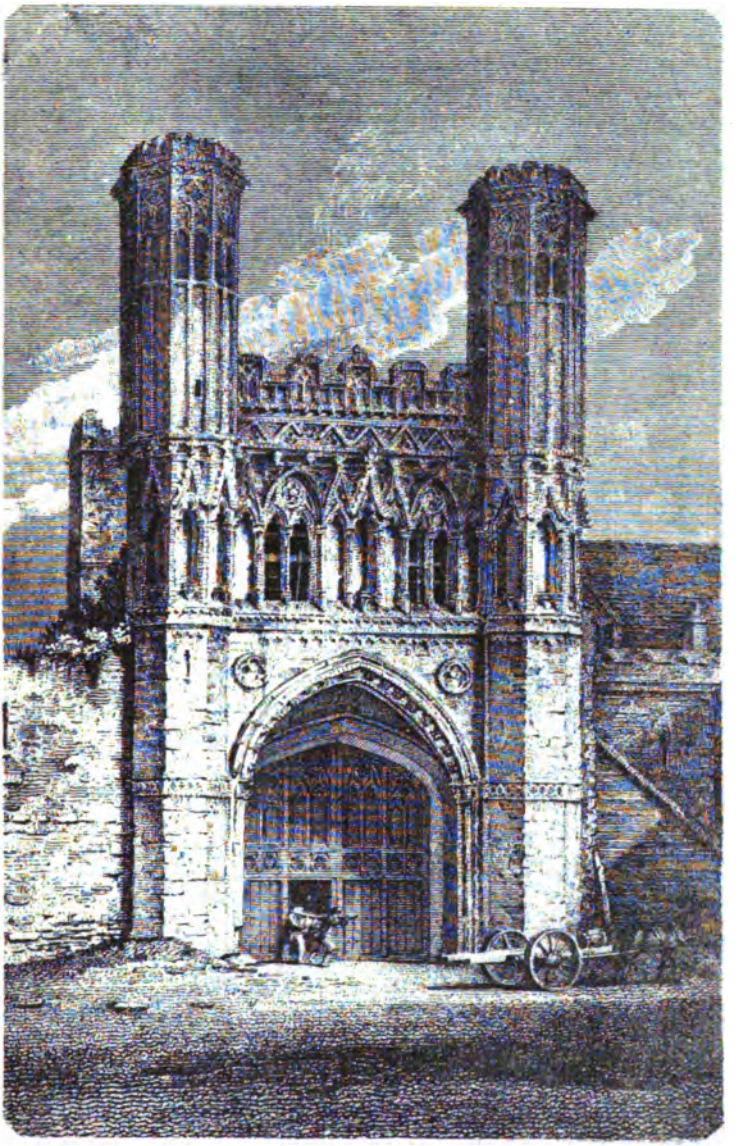
The crypt is interesting, not only from its retaining some of the old work, but for the memorials of the young soldiers of the Cross, who have gone out into far lands and amongst strange peoples to do battle for the truth, and one after another have laid down their lives in the cause in which they had engaged.

The College hall has been slightly altered. It affords an interesting specimen of an English dining hall in the "Olden Time." It measures sixty feet by forty. A noble building has been erected on the east side of the quadrangle as a library. Beneath the library is a crypt, which has been exactly restored. Herein the young collegians work at various handicrafts, carpentry chiefly, knowing not into what strange lands, without resources, certainly without the aid of English mechanics, they may be sent, and what duties they may be called on to perform—perhaps to improvise a dwelling-place, or to run up a temporary hut, to saw down and to plane up timber, and to perform a variety of useful handicrafts. They are also instructed in elementary medicine and surgery, through the kindness of the medical staff of the Hospital. Printing is also one of their acquirements.

The work of restoration and construction of the new buildings was intrusted by Mr. Hope to Mr. Butterfield, the well-known architect. All possible care and pains were taken. The architectural style which prevails is the geometrical or decorated; but the west end of the chapel is Early English. The Norman style is now only

to be seen in what remains of the north aisle of the old Abbey Church.

The College, as it is now denominated, was incorporated June, 1848. It is an establishment for missionaries of the Church of England, and is designed for fifty students. Two hundred and fifty young missionaries have already been prepared for their work. The Society consists of a Warden, a Sub-Warden, and three Fellows, a Lecturer on practical medicine, and a Professor of the Oriental languages. Annually, on St. Augustine's Day, the great dining hall is thrown open by the Warden and Fellows, when the hospitality of the College is dispensed to a number of friends, and to some of the principal inhabitants of the city invited for the occasion.



Great Gateway_St. Augustine's Monastery

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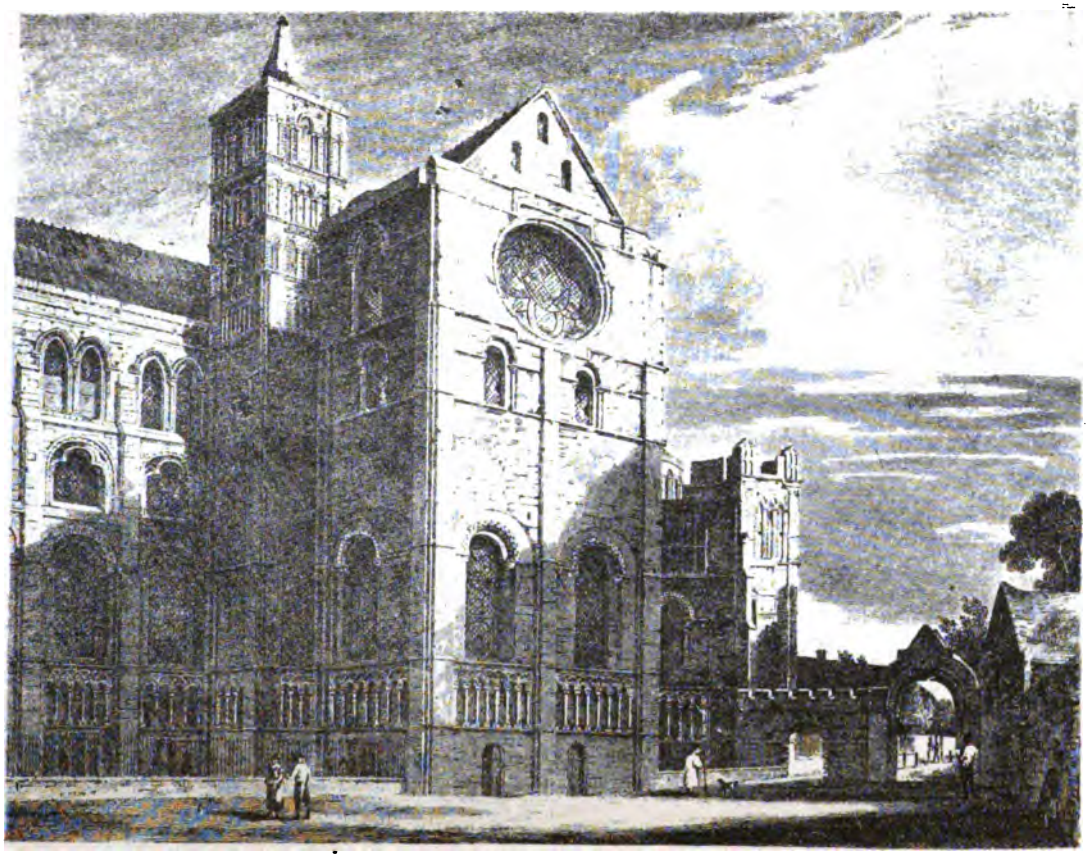
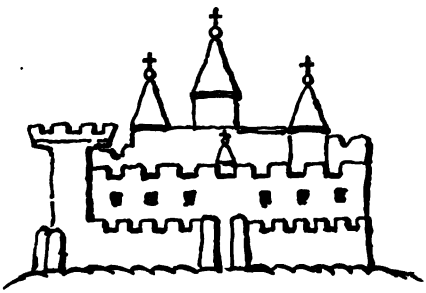


East Transept, Cathedral.

The Cathedral.

The glory of a building does not always consist, as Mr. Ruskin says it does, "in its age," for it may have long ceased to maintain the uses for which it was originally constructed, like a Roman basilica or a heathen temple converted into a Christian church; but, as the same author pronounces more correctly, "in its deep sense of voicefulness, and the mysterious sympathies with which we feel it has watched the passing of the ages," astir with the waves of the opinions of thinking, and let us hope for the most part, truthful men. Thus have our emotions been sometimes awakened, sometimes stilled, before the influence of the higher sense of awe, worship, and adoration.



Cantebrue.

A Cathedral — and none more so than that of Canterbury—is a history of religion itself. Side by side within its walls sleep the active advocates of Rome and of England, the enthusiasts of one age, perhaps the martyrs of the next. Peace be to their ashes, till the time come when the truth shall be made manifest, and their creeds be one.

Canterbury Cathedral may be excelled in certain particulars by other ecclesiastical structures in England. By York, for the noble majesty of the minster; by Salisbury, in the greater uniformity of the architectural style, if that be a requisite; by Winchester, for the length of nave; Peterborough, in the richly-ornamented west front; Ely, for choir and lantern; Hereford, for the beautiful Lady Chapel; Durham, for the commanding position; Lincoln, for the angel choir; nay, in other

like buildings, for certain interesting characteristics wanting in Canterbury Cathedral; but the latter possesses beauties or excellencies in which the structures we have named are partially or wholly deficient, whilst for its historical and ecclesiastical associations, Canterbury clearly surpasses them all. It has a completeness in spite of its Early English, decorated and perpendicular styles manifested in various portions of it. These peculiarities impress a sort of Mosaic-like beauty when we survey the building within from the choir steps down the lofty nave, with its beautiful clustered columns—solemn, calm, majestic, speaking like a voice from the grand old past.

The central tower—a noble specimen of the perpendicular style of architecture—is a structure full of gracefulness; and the western towers, originally of Norman design, are fine and noble examples of the same style.

The choir, with its Norman and Early English pillars and variety of ornament, and the stained glass windows of the side aisles, transepts, and chapels, has great beauty of detail; and its very contrast with the nave is so well arranged, and artistically introduced, that the difference strikes us rather by the variety of its beauty than by the dissonance of its style.

The design of this work, however, is intended not so much to describe the present appearance of the Cathedral, as to give an outline of the history of its buildings and the vicissitudes which have attended it. For the portion of the subject which follows, the author does not hesitate to say he has nothing original to add to facts adduced and opinions quoted by the best authorities he has been able to refer to on the subject.

Saint Augustine is said to have found a church in Canterbury standing east of the city. Other authorities relate that these were only the foundations remaining of an old church built by the believing Romans. The latter conclusion appears the more likely, inasmuch as it seems scarcely probable that Queen Bertha should have gone to her devotions at St. Martin's or at St. Pancras, if there were Christian structures nearer at hand, which, even if ruinous, might have been restored for her use.

Mr. Walcott says the church was built by Augustine on the site of King Ethelbert's palace, and adduces Thorne as his authority. Others suppose St. Augustine adapted the structure at Saint Martin as his first church. Ethelbert, A.D. 596, we assume, gave either the site or a building near the site of the present Cathedral to Augustine, who, after his consecration at Arles, dedicated the church to our Saviour. For three hundred years no mention is made of the fabric of the Cathedral; the donations, however, to its revenues were abundant. Like most of the ancient churches,* it had its entrance at the east, and its altar at the west. When the incursions of the Danes became frequent and devastating, the building suffered from decay, if not from spoliation. Such was its state A.D. 938, when Odo became Archbishop. The roof was ruinous, and the walls uneven. Between A.D. 940–960 it was repaired, the roofs covered with lead, and, as Osborn tells us, "there was not to be found a church of so large a size in all the kingdom." The Cathedral as enlarged by Odo, A.D. 950, was a basilica in form, somewhat in imitation of the old St. Peter's at Rome, demolished in the 16th century.

A.D. 1011 was a year of the greatest calamity both to the city and to the Cathedral. The Danes, after a siege of twenty-one days, entered Canterbury, burnt the houses, slaughtered the inhabitants, and then set the Cathedral on fire. Without a roof, its bare walls only standing, the church remained desolate for years. Archbishop Egelnoth commenced its restoration, and King Canute, who showed great zeal for the repairs of the monasteries and religious houses which had fallen victims to the incursions of his own people and his forefathers, presented his crown of gold for its reparation, and restored to it the Port of Sandwich with its liberties.

Elphege and Livingus, the predecessors of Egelnoth, had suffered from the outrages of the Danes, the one, as it is well known, dying a martyr after months of grievous incarceration, and Livingus, although his life was spared, enduring a dreary imprisonment.

* See Willis, p. 21, and Dean Stanley's address. This opinion has been controverted by some eminent architects.

The church thus existing before Lanfranc's time was simple and unpretending. It contained an altar tomb of rough unhewn stone, erected by Odo for the body of Wilfred, Archbishop of York. Westward was another altar dedicated to our Saviour, at which divine service was daily performed. This altar enclosed the head of St. Swithin, with many other relics brought by Elphege from Winchester. Passing westward, many steps led down to the choir and the nave. At the foot of the steps there was a passage to the undercroft, or crypt. The choir and nave were on a level.† At the east was an altar, including, as Hasted tells us, according to an old tradition, the head of Saint Fulseus in a certain crypt fabricated in the likeness of the confessionary at St. Peter's—the old church, of course.

From hence, by a winding passage at the west end of it, was the tomb of St. Dunstan.‡ The nave was separated from the choir by a screen, so that when the former was crowded, the singing of the chanters in the choir might not be disturbed. About the middle of the nave were two towers or steeples, whose bases projected beyond the walls of the church, one on the south, the other on the north side. There was an altar to Saint Gregory, and a hall in the southern tower, where law, controversies, and pleas on secular matters were decided.§

At the west end of the church was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. To this oratory the ascent was by steps. There were cloisters constructed to this church, and a pontifical chair of rude workmanship, which stood towards the western part. This church was injured by a fire A.D. 1043.

Lanfranc became Archbishop A.D. 1070. A new style had come into use. Timber fabrics were becoming dis-

* The Cathedral at this period, and even previously, had been fortified by its own proper wall within, for when Canterbury was attacked, A.D. 1011, by the Danes, they did not get possession of it until they had first taken the city. In a MS. of Matthew Paris, in the British Museum, as given by Hasted, vol. 2, there is a rude pen-and-ink sketch, a copy of which is given at the beginning of this description, see page 273. It may be merely a conventional drawing of the Cathedral; but if we allow for some confused notions of perspective, one tower at each end being given instead of two, it might represent one of the ancient forms of the Cathedral. The central tower is very like the Angel Steeple of the early date.

† Dart. ‡ Hasted. § This practice continued many years later.

carded for the greater ecclesiastical buildings. More graceful arches, recessed doorways, were introduced, and beautiful and life-like foliage after a time appeared. The towers or spires became lofty and imposing, and architecture for the first time in England, at least since the departure of the Romans, was vindicating her right to be considered one of the highest efforts of art. The Norman style, however, had been introduced previous to the Conquest, as the great Abbey at Westminster, built by Edward the Confessor, attests. The choir and transepts of that building, however, were the only portions completed before the death of the King,* and some years elapsed after the advent of the Conqueror before the Norman style became thoroughly established in England.

Lanfranc is said to have rebuilt the Cathedral from its foundations,† and such of the monastic buildings as were destroyed by fire, and the palace. The name of the Cathedral was altered, and it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The building then constructed consisted of a nave, aisles, choir, transepts, central and western towers.‡ Some of the early Norman work was rude.

Gervase relates that the choir of Lanfranc was taken down a few years after the death of the Archbishop. He describes the nave remaining as supported by eight pairs of pillars. Between nave and choir was a great tower or steeple. Under the tower, on the side towards the nave, was the altar of the Holy Cross. "Above the pulpitum, and placed across the church, was the beam which supported a great cross, two cherubim, and the images of SS. Mary and John. In the north aisle was the oratory and altar of Saint Mary."§ The Great Tower stood in the middle of the church. It bore upon its pinnacle a gilded cherub; and hence it derived the name of the "Angel Steeple." This tower had a cross on each side, north and south, each of which had in the middle a strong pillar. Each pillar sustained a vaulted roof. In this part of the Cathedral were numerous tombs and altars.

* He set about to destroy it utterly, and to erect a more noble one.—*Willis*, 14.

† Parker, p. 24, "Gothic Architecture."

‡ Walcott. § Professor Willis, p. 37.

A.D. 1096 to 1110.—Lanfranc's church did not perish by fire nor by assault. The choir was deliberately taken down a few years after its erection, at least that portion of it extending from the central tower eastward. The nave was rebuilt at a subsequent period by Prior Chillenden, A.D. 1378-1410. Professor Willis, p. 64, informs us, however, that some portions even of the nave of Lanfranc yet remain—the Norman plinth within the nave, on each side of the south aisles, from which we ascertain the width of Lanfranc's nave was 72 feet; also portions of Norman* ashlaring about the transepts at their extreme eastern angles. The eastern piers of the Great Tower show Norman ashlaring on their eastern faces; and some of the original clerestory windows may be traced outside of the western wall over the cloister door. And although nave and transepts have been transformed into the perpendicular style of the 14th century, and the central tower carried up to about twice its original height, certain indications show these changed parts stand on the old foundations of Lanfranc's church.

Between the years A.D. 1095-1126, under the instruction of Archbishop Anselm, Prior Ernulph, and subsequently Prior Conrad, completed the rebuilding of the choir and other eastern structures, "erected with such splendour," according to William of Malmsbury, "that the like was not to be seen in all England." Anselm, however, died five years before the work was perfected,† and to Prior Conrad has been assigned the chief honour of the undertaking.

The portions of the Cathedral rebuilt‡ were—choir, choir transept, the western portion of the crypt, and the Chapel of the Holy Trinity; the Chapels of SS. Anselm and Andrew being added, the former, of course, after the translation of the Archbishop. Of these

* Gostling, page 109 (new edition), would assume, "That that part of the church which commences at the next door of the choir was not of Norman taste, but of King Alfred's time." See also 132, respecting part of the crypt.

† Anselm was buried behind the altars of SS. Peter and Paul.—W., 133.

‡ Mr. Gostling, who in his history of the Cathedral often differs from most of the accredited authorities, says that Lanfranc's choir was left in part standing, and that Edmer's word "auctam," as applied to the choir, meant rather that it was enlarged and improved, than rebuilt.

structures, the crypt and the towers of SS. Anselm and Andrew yet remain. Conrad is said to have adorned the choir with curious pictures, and enriched it "with precious stones." Gervase describes the roof of the choir as beautified with paintings representing Heaven. The stalls were large, and of carved wood. An ascent of three steps from the choir led to the presbyterium. The high altar was dedicated to our Lord. It stood between the altars of St. Dunstan and St. Elphege. There were two pillars of wood adorned with silver and gold. Upon these pillars was laid a beam, as in Lanfranc's choir, and upon which was placed the Glory (Majestas Domini), with the images of St. Dunstan and St. Elphege, together with seven coffers covered with gold and silver, and filled with the relics of saints.* Between the columns there was set a gilded cross surrounded by sixty crystals. In the crypt, under this altar of Christ, stood the altar of the Virgin, to whom the entire crypt was dedicated. In the ambulatory, the space between the apse wall and the altar, was placed the Primate's chair,† made of stone, which was approached by eight steps. The Patriarch sat in this chair on great festivals until the elements were consecrated, when he removed to a wooden throne in the choir.‡ Under the whole east part, from the Angel Steeple, there was a crypt or undercroft, in which were several altars,§ chapels, and sepulchres. Amongst these we may note the altar of Saint Augustine on the south side. The tombs of Archbishop Athelred and Eadsin were amongst many other sepulchres.

At the place where the presbyterium and the choir met,‖ was on each side a transept. On the side of each of these transepts were semicircular apses arched over.

We may mention amongst altars and tombs that Anselm's body lay behind the altar of SS. Peter and Paul, under the tower on the south side, from which circumstance that structure derived the name of Anselm's Tower.

Amongst other tombs in the chapels, transepts, and crypts, were those of Odo, Wilfred, Athelard, &c.

* Gervase—Willis, 44. † Made of three stones, the seat being divided.
‡ Walcott, p. 13. § Hasted, 721. ‖ Gervase, W., 46.

There were two towers, one at the north, the other at the south side of the church. "The building," which Hasted says "was deservedly called the glorious choir of Conrad," was erected during the discouraging reign of William II. Anselm, then Archbishop, endured for the first five years of his primacy almost a living martyrdom, such was the opposition, poverty, and discouragement he had to struggle with—sometimes banished the realm, and almost always enduring vexation and oppression from the King. Nor did he fare much better under Henry I., who banished him for four years, retaining in his own hands the revenues of the see; and yet for all this, with such able coadjutors as Ernulf and Conrad, he achieved a great work.

A.D. 1130, 30th Henry I., the Cathedral suffered some damage from fire. It was efficiently repaired at the expense of Archbishop Carboil. On the 4th of May, in the same year, the church's ancient name was restored, and it became thenceforth "Christ Church." There was a great ceremony on the occasion. The King and Queen, and David King of Scots, the Archbishops, Bishops, and many nobles of the land were present.

A.D. 1174, a fire destroyed the choir, also the Chapel of the Infirmary, the Chapel of the Virgin, and the collegiate offices and buildings. The choir was afterwards undertaken to be rebuilt by William of Sens, but he, meeting with an accident by a fall from a scaffolding, was so severely injured that he had subsequently to abandon the work, and was succeeded by William called the "Englishman," who rebuilt the Trinity Chapel, the eastern part of the crypt, and erected Becket's crown, the latter about A.D. 1184. A.D. 1304-5, Prior Henry de Estria built the choir wall of inclosure. Soon after A.D. 1363, the Black Prince's chantry was constructed in the south transept of the crypt.

A.D. 1410–1427, St. Michael's Chapel was added. Prior Goldstone erected the Lady Chapel, now called the Dean's, 1449–1468. The south-western tower, called the St. Dunstan's, Chicheley or Oxford Tower, which was pulled down in the time of Archbishop Chicheley, was rebuilt whilst Goldstone was prior, A.D. 1449–1468. The ground story has delicate vaulting; the west side

is pierced by a three-light perpendicular window. The summit of the tower is embattled. Some ornamental work was added to this tower by Archbishop Warham. The north-west tower, built by Lanfranc*, was 113 feet high, with an octagonal leaden-cased spire 100 feet high, erected by Archbishop Arundel. This spire, having been shaken by a storm in 1703, was shortly afterwards removed. In this condition the tower remained for 130 years. It was entirely rebuilt under the superintendance of Mr. G. Austin,† 1832–1840. It is now of similar style, the perpendicular, to its fellow, the St. Dunstan's Tower.

The porch, being the southern entrance to the nave, was erected about A.D. 1400. The upper story is occupied by a tabernacle, which contains a sculpture representing the murder of Archbishop Becket; on each side are also two niches. The niches on the front and sides of this entrance, as well as on the sides of the great western doorway, and the Arundel Tower, are filled with modern statues, representing Ethelbert, Bertha, Augustine, Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, Ernulph, the Black Prince, the Sovereigns of England, Dean Alford, &c.

A.D. 1490, the Great Central Tower was erected under Priors Goldstone and Sellyng and Cardinal Morton; it was completed A.D. 1517. It is late perpendicular in style, and commonly called the "Bell Harry Tower." The height is 235–9 feet by 40–8 feet square.

The Angel Steeple was contemporaneous with the nave up to the line of the roof. The upper portion of the work was executed under Prior Goldstone; and as the piers exhibited signs of weakness, Goldstone added buttressing arches, similar to those at Ely, of a strong and singularly reticulated masonry, under the western and southern arches; but the eastern, being fortified with stronger pillars, did not require this precaution; and the northern were left free, that the work might not interfere with the martyrdom.‡

"Under the east arches, the choir shrine erected by Henry De Estria about A.D. 1304, is exceedingly beauti-

* Lanfranc was buried at first close to the wall of Trinity Chapel, afterwards by the altar of St Martin.—(W., 1.)

† First stone of the new tower (the Arundel Steeple), was laid September 2, 1832.

‡ Walcott, page 30–31.

ful." The present nave and transepts, commenced in A.D. 1378, were finished about A.D. 1410. The old structure had been pulled down by Sudbury, but his death prevented his completing the new building.* The monks expended 8000 marks on the work about A.D. 1410.

After the death of Sudbury, Prior Chillenden, under Archbishops Courteney and Arundel, and, perhaps, part of the time even under Archbishop Chicheley, who succeeded to the primacy A.D. 1414, completed the undertaking. The style is perpendicular.

The nave of Winchester Cathedral, constructed about the same period, is longer, but not so lofty, nor so elegant as that of Canterbury. "The general impression of grandeur is produced by the harmonious proportion and height of the nave. The fine rich vault is groined, and has curved bosses ornamented with armorial bearings." The flight of steps leading to the choir increases the general effect. The old monkish stalls, in two rows, remained until 1704, when new seats were constructed in their places. A.D. 1706, Archbishop Tenison gave the throne.

Many years since, A.D. 1787, in excavating near the tomb of Simon Islip, a skeleton of great size was found, supposed to be that of the Archbishop, who was reputed to have been between 6 and 7 feet in height.

Christ Church Gate was constructed in the reign of Henry VIII., in the primacy of Archbishop Warham, A.D. 1517. The turrets were formerly made lofty. (See Plate.) They have been lowered within the present century to a level with the top of the gateway.

The Crypt or Undercroft.

The best authorities assign the construction of the western portion of the crypt to the years 1070–1096, the eastern part to 1096–1110. (*Willis*). The great similarity of some of the capitals on the pillars to those existing in St. Peter's Church, Oxford, ascribed to Grymbald, who lived in the time of King Alfred, has induced some antiquaries, amongst whom we must include Gostling, to consider the crypt of a much older date than as above assigned. Mr. Parker, however

* Walcott, p. 11.

(p. 36, Gothic Architecture), does not think any portion of the crypt to be as ancient as the time of Lanfranc, and Professor Willis is of the same opinion (p. 68).

The length of the crypt is 286 feet. The columns do not in every case stand directly under the pillars of the choir. Under the upper south wing was the chantry or chapel of the Black Prince. This chantry was suppressed by Henry VIII. To the south is the French Church; to the east is the St. Mary's Chapel of the Undercroft.

Erasmus remarked, when he visited the Cathedral, "That there the Virgin Mother hath an habitation, but somewhat dark, adorned with a double sept or rail of iron for fear of thieves. For indeed," he continues, "I never saw anything more laden with riches. Lights being brought, I saw more than a royal spectacle in beauty, far exceeding that of Walsingham." Little of this except the stonework now remains.

The style of the chapel is perpendicular. A step divides the chancel from the body of the chapel. There are three pairs of pillars on each side. These pillars have, instead of capitals, embattled cornices over them. Some of the arches are enriched with escutcheons of arms, and other ornaments, and stars with pointed rays, the effect of which would be very different were it to be lighted up with lamps. Some of the irons of the lamps yet remain. Gostling says the chapel was built A.D. 1500. Near this chapel lay the grave wherein Becket was first buried, until some little time after his canonization in 1173.

Hither came Henry II. in 1174, barefooted, to perform penance at the Archbishop's grave.

The crypt at Canterbury is the largest in England.

Chapel of St. John.

On the south side of the crypt, just to the east of Saint Anselm's Tower, is the chapel generally ascribed to Saint John. This Norman chapel terminated in an apse; but late in the 13th century, in order to substitute a square east end, a wall was built on the chord line of the apse. The chapel, or rather the apse, is now known as the "dark hole," the only entrance being, until a few months since, by a small space, 19 inches by

17 inches in dimensions, close to the ground. The chapel is now remarkable for the beautiful series of paintings which adorn its walls and ceilings. On the centre of the vault is a large figure of our Lord seated upon the world, and holding the Bible in His left hand; the whole is enclosed in a vesica. The vesica is supported by four angels in the attitude of flying or adoration.

On the north side of the chapel, just beneath the angels' feet, is a subject representing St. Gabriel appearing to Zacharias, who is offering incense at the altar. Zacharias, as described in the 1st chapter of St. Luke, was struck dumb for doubting the angel's message. In the subject immediately to the left of Zacharias at the altar, is depicted the same prophet showing himself to the people, and pointing to his mouth, indicating he was speechless.

Beneath these two subjects, which are enclosed in one compartment, is the circumcision of St. John. On the left of this picture is Elizabeth seated on a bed, and holding the infant in her arms. Her neighbours, who stand around, called the child Zacharias after his father, but Elizabeth answered "Not so; he shall be called John." They, in amazement, appeal to the father, who is seated on the right side of the picture, holding a label in his hand bearing the words "Johannes est nomen ejus"—His name is John. This subject is in good preservation, and every detail is almost perfect. The drawing is bold, and the grouping effectual.

On the south side of the chapel, opposite the two compartments lastly mentioned, the paintings are much mutilated. However, there are sufficient remains to enable us to make out that they represented the annunciation of the angel Gabriel to the Blessed Virgin and the circumcision of our Lord. There is an arched recess in the eastern wall of the apse.

In the lower part of the arch, on the north side, is St. John the Evangelist writing the Apocalypse. Above this, and round the soffit of the arch, are represented the angels of the seven churches. On the crown of the arch are the seven stars, contained within a circle. There are also other paintings on the western walls of the

chapel, the principal figures being cherubim standing upon winged wheels, and having their bodies full of eyes.

The chapel, as before mentioned, has been closed for centuries, with the exception of the small entrance near, through which those who passed were obliged to crawl on hands and knees. Owing to the accumulation occasioned by damp, the action of the frost, and the cracks in the vaulting, much of the painting has fallen or become obliterated. Fortunately, during the summer of last year, the Dean and Chapter recognized the great value of these works of art, and determining to prevent further loss, placed the work of reparation in the hands of Mr. James Neale, F.S.A., architect, of London. Novel and ingenious means have been employed; all the loose painted plaster has been removed and refixed, and the work is now drawing to completion. Mr. Neale has made *fac simile* copies of the paintings as they existed before he commenced the reparation.

The undercroft at one time had a far more imposing effect than it now exhibits, especially when its shrines and altars were surrounded by its priests and worshippers, and a hundred lights twinkled through the half twilight which now invests it with a sort of mystery and gloom, like the shadows still lingering over a state and a magnificence long passed away.*

The Archbishops.

In the middle ages, second only to the Sovereign himself, at Canterbury at least, was the Archbishop. On his taking possession of his see, or at his enthronization, and on all grand occasions, all the world flocked to behold the entry of the Archbishop into Canterbury. Graphically has Dr. Hook described the advent and entry of Winchelsey at the close of 13th century.† From his Manor House at Ospringe, on one 17th of March, he set out for Canterbury mounted on a white palfrey gorgeously caparisoned, attended by a splendid cavalcade—the clerks of his household, his tenants, his knights, and their

* Since the abovewas written, additional figures have been discovered at the entrance of the chapel.

† Dr. Hook, "Lives," vol. 3, p. 382.

associates. As the Angel Tower of the Cathedral rose in sight, and presently the old western gateway of the city, (there was always a Westgate) loomed in the distance, they beheld, issuing from the latter, an eager and expectant multitude. The masters of the Chapter in their copes, their banners borne before them, the city, authorities, their officers, with staves and halberts, and a vast array in various costumes. The appearance of the assembly was most picturesque. Banners floated around and above, and wreaths of flowers, of roses, honeysuckles, and sweet-smelling herbs, were twined round caps or hung in garlands. The eyes of the Archbishop were fixed on the Sub Prior, who advanced, bearing the archiepiscopal cross, wrought with gold and sparkling with jewels. At the sight of the emblem of his office Winchelsey dismounted, and prostrating himself on the ground, awaited the arrival of the Sub Prior. The latter advancing, addressed the admonition to the Primate, charging him in the name of God to discharge the duties to which he was called, and presented to him the cross. The Archbishop received it on bended knees, and then rising, handed it to one of his chaplains, to be henceforth his cross-bearer. They approach the Cathedral. Here the Prior, magnificently arrayed, is standing to welcome the new Primate. They enter the building. The Archbishop prostrates himself before the altar. A deep silence reigns for a few moments only, as he remains in prayer; then suddenly the voice of the Prior breaks the stillness; "Salvum fac servum" swells through the church; certain collects are chanted, and then, as the grand Te Deum bursts forth, all present lend their voices. Again the procession moves; the Archbishop bends before the shrine of St. Thomas, and returning to the choir, takes his seat on his wooden chair, for he is not yet enthroned. Here an oath is administered to him; he receives the members of the Chapter with the kiss of peace, and retiring to the vestry gives the order for his enthronization to take place in the October following. When this event occurs, October, 1294, there is a similar display. The houses of Canterbury are hung with the richest drapery; "the fair sex," says Dr. Hook, "line the streets, or gaze

from windows and balconies with their husbands, lovers, or brothers." However, on this occasion, the Archbishop is not alone, but is attended by the gallant Edward I.; and as he had just returned from "fighting the Lord's battles in the Holy Land," the enthusiasm of the spectators is all the greater. In the Cathedral, "drapery festooned the tinted walls, light flowed from the windows, dyed with azure and amber and ruby. Great is the splendour of the priestly garments, the glitter of the armour of the knights, the gorgeousness of the whole array. The Sovereign of England and the Primate of the Church being the objects of all attention. The deep organ sounds, and tapers glitter, lighted on twenty or thirty side shrines, as a ponderous thurible swings its incense through the fabric, making the dim light brilliant with rays cast on the gold and silver and jewellery around."

On another occasion, November, A.D. 1503, a very different scene is enacted; it is the funeral of Henry Dean. The Archbishop had died at Lambeth. A barge was moored by the palace stairs, thirty-three sailors in black, each bearing a lighted candle, received the coffin, and presided over its progress as it is wafted over the waters to the ferry at Faversham. Here a funeral car is provided. At length the coffin, surmounted by an effigy of the Archbishop arranged in his pontificals, approaches the Cathedral. Fifty torch-bearers and sixty gentlemen surround the car as the coffin slowly passes to the place of its final destination.

The Cathedral Windows.

Becket's miracles are delineated in the three Trinity Chapel windows. These are of 13th century date, and have been justly admired. It is said that Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, once offered its weight in gold for one of these windows. The great window of the north transept was the gift of Edward IV. and his Queen, the portrait of the latter being the only one known to exist; it has been much mutilated. Culmer, in 1642, was the chief destructionist; there is very little left of the original glass. The great west window of the nave has some fine hues and combinations. A

considerable portion, however, of the ancient glass is gone, its place having been supplied by glass taken from other parts of the Cathedral—from the clerestory windows and the choir.

The subject of the three triforium windows, north side of the choir above, is the sack of Canterbury by the Danes, and the Martyrdom of Archbishop Elphege. "These windows," says Felix Summerly, "are remarkable for the beauty of the scroll-work on the ruby ground; and viewed from a little distance, a warm rich light seems to flood the space they occupy."

The large perpendicular window in the south transept of the nave is made up of fragments from the old windows of the clerestory of the choir, "with the exception of some small portion of the ancient glass of the canopies, which once surmounted the figures which filled them." The east or central window of the Trinity Chapel is considered a magnificent specimen of 13th century work.

By the western entrance of the nave there is a fine window dedicated to the late Sir R. H. Inglis, which is deserving of much praise; also windows to the late Mr. G. Austin and to Mrs. H. G. Austin. These, with the memorial window next to St. Anselm's Chapel on the south aisle of the choir, as well as those in the south-east transept, the two triforium windows on each side the choir, and the large circular window in the gable of the transept, are all the composition of Mr. George Austin, son of the late architect of the Cathedral, and have been greatly admired. The four fine "Te Deum" windows in the nave, and the rich windows in the clerestory above, are also the work of Mr. Austin, as is also the window adjoining the ancient central window in the Trinity Chapel. In the transept of the choir, north-east, is a window presented by Dean Stanley, illustrative of Scriptural scenes in Palestine and Syria. There is also a window here in memory of Dr. Spry by Mr. Austin, and a large window on the north face of the transept, and likewise on the south side.

In the south aisles of the choir are modern windows, illustrating the histories of our Saviour, of Elisha, and of Moses, the composition by Mr. Waile. Near these is

a memorial window to Dean Alford, the work of Messrs. Clayton and Bell; and some windows which the Dean in his lifetime dedicated to the memory of his deceased children, by Mr. Austin. There is a window in the south aisle of the choir to Dean Lyall; also one to the Rev. F. V. Lockwood, both by Mr. G. Austin; also two fine windows in the north aisle of the choir (imperfect, however), the lower portions having been filled in with glass from other windows. There is a window in the north-west transept by Hughes. The cloister arcades were once filled with stained-glass windows, as well as the window ranges on one side of the Chapter House, now bricked in.

We must not conclude, however, without mentioning a fine window descriptive of the murder of Becket, by Miss Clarke, and a window to Canon Chesshyre, by Mr. Austin; also windows by Mr. Waile.

There are two old windows in the upper tiers of the south transept of the choir—east, and two modern windows below.

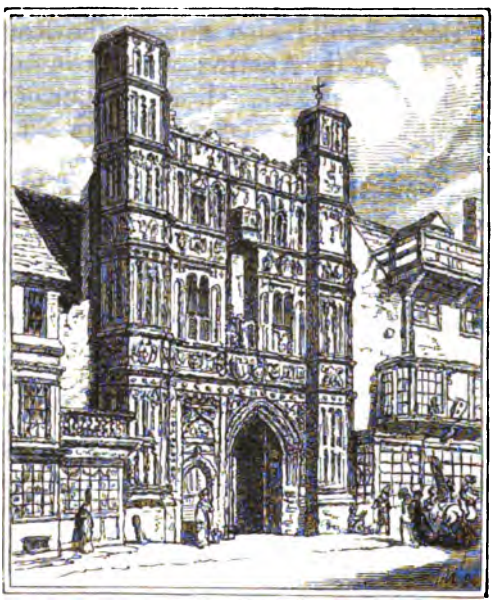
Monumental Brasses.

Those once in the Cathedral and buildings are all gone, as the pavements of the Chapter House, the transepts, and the chapels will attest—ruthlessly ripped up, and carried away to satisfy the greed of now unknown spoliators. In this respect the Cathedral fared infinitely worse than the parish churches.—*See List.*

The Conventional Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church.

The length to which my descriptions have already run, being far beyond the limits assigned to this work, will prevent my giving a particular account of the Priory and structures connected with the Convent of Christ Church. I must refer my readers to a most scientific and exhaustive history of them by the late Professor Willis, in the seventh volume of the "Archæologia Cantiana," p. 1, and to Dean Stanley's address on the same subject to the "Church of England Young Men's Association." Very few of the ancient buildings are

now extant.* The library is an entirely new structure. The Chapter House was originally of Norman origin, but has been rebuilt in later times by Archbishop Morton.



The cloisters, where in the intervals between church services and refreshment and repose the monks were supposed to spend their time in meditation and teaching, remain. The pillars of the infirmary and of the church exist north-east of the Cathedral as picturesque ruins. The building itself shared the fate of many adjoining structures when the choir of Conrad was destroyed by fire. A few years since it was laid open to public view—at least what was left of it—its columns and stone window-frames having been built in, or rather covered up, by the dwelling-houses at one time occupied by the Prebendaries and Minor Canons. In the Deanery and in the gardens, and other portions of the monastic grounds and buildings, some of the ancient work may be yet detected. The "Cheker House," where the business affairs of the convent were transacted, has been long since pulled down. It stood over the "Dark Entry," otherwise the "Prior's Gate." The very ancient and curiously twisted porphyry pillars which support the arcades of the building yet remain on the left side, as we approach the Green Court. The great hall of the Archbishop's palace is described and engraved in Grose's "Antiquities," vol. 3., p. 3.

Professor Willis has published several ancient maps,

* See "Christ Church Gate," as *above*, representing the ancient turrets standing.

one showing the means adopted by the monks for the water supply of the convent and the localities of the vineyards and orchards of the monastery; another map represents the interior of the Cathedral in Norman times, when all the conventional buildings connected with it existed intact. In this we see described the ancient gateway called "Porta Cemeterii," and the Campanile *, the mound of which still exists in Canon Robertson's grounds; and to the south-east is marked out the ancient piscina or fish pond.

The only remains north-west of the Cathedral of Archbishop Parker's Great Hall, is a portion of wall and a doorway. The gateway facing Palace Street is extant. A new building has been erected for the Middle Class School on the site of the old reception room of the palace. The remains of the Lollards' Tower are in a building used as a house, and a printing establishment in Palace Street. The old archway of the palace buildings, through which Becket passed to the cloisters and the Cathedral on the day of his murder is still to be seen. Some remains of the old reception room of the Archbishop's palace have lately been discovered; also one of the old kitchens.

The greater portion of the Palace was destroyed by fire in the time of Cranmer, when the Archbishop's brother lost his life.

The Church Yard.

An old map of Canterbury Cathedral is before me, published about 180 years since; it is very suggestive. The spired and Norman tower (Arundel Tower) appears entirely out of keeping with nave, south-west tower, and the great central tower. The cemetery gate, not then removed, seems almost to abut on the eastern end of the building. Beyond it apparently lies an orchard or wooded inclosure—a portion doubtless of the Oaks. Some poor houses flank the south side of the Cathedral. In the yard are tombstones, amongst which there are carriages passing. A double line of cross-shaped wooden posts guard the causeway, leading to the southern entrance of the Cathedral. In this yard, fronting this

* The Campanile was thrown down by an earthquake, *temp.* Richard II. The bells were then removed to the Cathedral.

great religious house, Canterbury fair was once wont to be holden. We may imagine something of the confusion, noise, and discomfort, to orderly persons arising out of the gathering consequent upon such an occasion.

We survey the same site at the present day. The cemetery gate, which had little architectural beauty, has been displaced (see Plate 29), the tombstones removed, the yard levelled, the Norman tower supplied by a new erection in keeping with the general character of the building; and when we consider the very large sums of money laid out within the last forty years in beautifying and adorning the internal structure of the Cathedral, we cannot withhold our humble meed of approbation at the spirit and liberality with which the Dean and Chapter, and all others concerned with them, have met the requirements of the time and age, and rendered this great church to be what it ought to be—one of the most graceful and magnificent ecclesiastical buildings in the kingdom.

Tombs of Edward the Black Prince and of King Henry IV.

It is not within the compass of this work to describe the numerous tombs and monuments in the Cathedral, but there are two of an especial note, to which doubtless our readers will think we ought to refer—the tomb of Edward the Black Prince and of King Henry IV.

The Tomb of the Black Prince.—This memorial occupies a spot, tolerably central, in Trinity Chapel. It has been called "a splendid and picturesque ruin;" it is doubtless full of interest. Within it lies the especial hero of Crecy and Poictiers, and of many a feudal, many a national battle—chivalrous, brave, "houmout," and we fear, cruel,* but, as his last moments attested, deeply repentant, and seeking mercy and pardon where alone it could be obtained.

Edward Plantagenet, son of the great Edward III., was in name a watchword in English history, and at one time indeed in Europe itself, from Scotland to the Mediterranean Sea.

His statue, in armour of brass, once gilded, reclines on an altar tomb of grey marble, with a leopard at the

* See Dean Stanley's "Memorials," p. 48.

feet. The statue bears a cap with a coronet round it, and the head rests on a casque or helmet. The Prince's armour is plated, except the gorget, which is of mail. On the tomb the quatrefoil panels are filled in with scutcheons, six on each side, with two at each end, containing the plume of feathers alternating with the arms of France and England quarterly, the word "Houmout" appearing alternately with "Ich Diene." The tomb was erected according to the instructions of the Prince, conveyed in his last will. A canopy is suspended above the tomb, and the trophies of the Prince are displayed above the canopy—his "heaulme" with leopard crest, his brass gauntlets lined with leather, the knuckles studded with minute heads of lions in brass, the surcoat quartered with the arms of France and England, his shield also displaying the lilies and the Plantagenet lions. The surcoat is of velvet, now torn and faded, "but once blazing with blue and scarlet." The shield is made of some light wood. The sword or dagger, "estoc," is gone from the scabbard above. The statue below has a scabbard attached to it.* The scabbard suspended above was of red leather set with gilded studs. The motto "Ich Diene" is set forth in a label to the plume of feathers, and on a larger label above. On the under part of the canopy is a painting, now nearly obliterated, representing the Father holding an effigy of the crucified Son before Him. The symbols of the Evangelists are displayed at the corners of the painting. The whole design is powdered with golden stars. It has been apparently a work of art, richly wrought and highly ornamented. The Black Prince's Chapel or Chantry is in the crypt. Two priests were appointed to pray for his soul therein. It is near the entrance of the Church of the French Protestants. In Dean Stanley's

* We hope all the relics are the genuine arms and defences of the Prince? A custom however prevailed of funeral furniture being provided by the official who regulated these affairs. Gough alludes to the sword, and says, "By *his side* lies his sword, loose, being with the sheath all of solid copper, four feet long, the hilt of wire work, with enamelled lions' heads on a blue ground" Possibly there is some mistake here, especially respecting the *copper* sword, which might never have existed, it being thought sufficient to display the handle only. Mr. Wentworth Huysche, by permission of the Dean of Canterbury, has lately made some fine photographs of the relics described above.

"Memorials of Canterbury" there is a full and interesting account of the Black Prince—of his life, death, will, and burial; also of the tomb and trophies attached to it, with illustrations.

Gough states that the Black Prince's helmet was enriched with gems, of which only the collets remain. There is an inscription in Norman-French around the tomb, and on the outer pillar, by the head of the tomb, another inscription, said to have been a copy of the Prince's will, but the limited space it occupies, unless it were an extract, seems to render this improbable.

On a brass plate surrounding the upper part of the tomb is inscribed the epitaph, a curious specimen of the style of the age, bearing, as Gough observes, "considerable similarity in phrase to the 'Romaunt of the Rose.'" Dean Stanley informs us this inscription was composed by the Prince himself. The lines,—

"Tiel come tu es, je autiel fu,
Tu serras tiel, come je su,"

suggest the well-known verses so common in our churchyards,—

"As I am now, so you shall be," &c.

The Shrine of Archbishop Becket.—It was demolished A.D. 1538. It was constructed of stone to a certain height, then of wood, covered with plates of gold, damasked. It was garnished with brocches, images, chains, precious stones, and great orient pearls.

The spoils of the shrine filled two great chests, one of which six or eight strong men could do no more than carry.—*Stowe, by Willis, p.* 100.

Tomb of Henry IV.—This structure has suffered much from time. It is highly ornamented. There is on the panel or inclosure at the head of the tomb a painting representing the assassination of Archbishop Becket. It is nearly obliterated, unfortunately so, not only on account of its age and interest, but had it been anywise complete, it might have prevented the suspension near the Martyrdom in the north aisle of a painting on the same subject, executed about 1851.

The tomb of Henry IV. is memorable for a controversy, perhaps more correctly speaking, for an opinion

which prevailed in some circles, that the King was not buried at Canterbury, in fact, never buried at all.

Warton discovered in the library of "Corpus Christi College," Cambridge, a M.S., which he published, A.D. 1691, in his "Anglia Sacra," entitled, "A History of the Martyrdom of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York." The writer of this M.S., Clement Maydestone, declared that when the body of the King was being conveyed from Westminster to Canterbury per ship—a very unlikely story, as it is nowhere else corroborated—a violent storm arose, and Maydestone, and others with him, finding their lives in peril, by common consent, "taking the body of the King out of the coffin, threw it into the sea. The storm immediately ceased." "We then," continued the narrator, "took the chest, covered with cloth of gold, to Canterbury, and there buried it."

Accordingly, to set all doubts at rest, and an opportunity having occurred to test the truth of this assertion, the royal vault was opened on the 21st August, 1832, in the presence of the Dean of Canterbury, Mr. Austin, several of the Prebendaries, and some distinguished visitors. We give the account of the examination of the royal coffin and remains as under:—

"On removing a portion of the marble pavement at the western end of the monument, it was found to have been laid on rubbish composed of lime dust, small pieces of Caen stone, and a few flints, among which were found two or three pieces of decayed stuff, or silk (perhaps portions of the cloth of gold which covered the coffin), and also a piece of leather. When the rubbish was cleared away, the lid of a wooden case appeared, of very rude form and construction, which the surveyor at once pronounced to be a coffin. It lay east and west, projecting beyond the monument towards the west for about one-third of its length. Upon it, to the east, and entirely within the monument, lay a leaden coffin without any wooden case, of much smaller size, and very singular shape, being formed by bending one sheet of lead over another, and soldering them at the junctions. This coffin was supposed to contain the remains of Queen Joan, and was not disturbed. Not being able to take off the lid of the large coffin, as a great portion of its length was under the tomb, and being unwilling to disturb the alabaster monument for the purpose of getting at it, it was decided to saw through the lid about three feet from what was supposed to be the head of the coffin. And this being done, the piece of wood was carefully removed, and found to be elm, very coarsely worked, about one inch and a half thick, and perfectly sound. Immediately under this elm board was a quantity of haybands filling the coffin, and upon the surface of them lay a very rude small cross, formed by merely

tying two twigs together, thus +. This fell to pieces on being touched. When the haybands, which were very sound and perfect, were removed, a leaden case or coffin was discovered, moulded in some degree to the shape of a human figure; and it was at once evident that this had never been disturbed, but lay as it was originally deposited, though it may be difficult to conjecture why it was placed in a case so rude and unsightly, and so much too large for it, that the haybands appeared to have been used to keep it steady. In order to ascertain what was contained in this leaden case, it became necessary to saw through a portion of it, and in this manner an oval piece of the lead, about seven inches long, and four inches over at the widest part of it, was carefully removed. Under this were found wrappers, which seemed to be of leather, and afterwards proved to have been folded five times round the body. These wrappers were cut through and lifted off, when, to the astonishment of all present, the face of the deceased King was seen in complete preservation—the nose elevated, the cartilage even remaining, though, on the admission of the air, they sunk rapidly away, and had entirely disappeared before the examination was finished. The skin of the chin was entire, of the consistence and thickness of the upper leather of a shoe, brown and moist; the beard thick and matted, of a deep russet colour. The jaws were perfect, and all the teeth in them, except one fore tooth, which had probably been lost during the King's life. The opening of the lead was not large enough to expose the whole of the features, and we did not examine the eyes or forehead. But the surveyor stated, that when he introduced his finger under the wrappers to remove them, he distinctly felt the orbits of the eyes prominent in their sockets. The flesh upon the nose was moist, clammy, and of the same brown colour as every other part of the face. Having thus ascertained that the body of the King was actually deposited in the tomb, the wrappers were laid again upon the face, the lead drawn back over them, the lid of the coffin put on, the rubbish filled in, and the marble pavement replaced immediately."

Charters, Records, and Public Documents.

Among the more recent proceedings of the Court of Burghmote, we find, A.D. 1794, "That on the 20th May the thanks of the city were voted to Alderman Cyprian Bunce for the infinite pains and labour with which he had translated all the material orders and decrees of the Court of Burghmote between the years 1542 and 1793." To this work he had added, collected, and arranged, with much care, a schedule of all charters, records, books, deeds, and papers, in the City Archives, supplying copious and minute indices and references. The Court of Burghmote, expressing their great sense of the estimation in which they held a work so useful and systematic, ordered the same to be laid upon their table at every Court of Burghmote.

Mr. Bunce appeared in most cases to have contented himself with a description, so that there still remains a rich store whence the antiquary may collect materials. Some of these have been for the first time brought to light in these pages. Somner, as well as Mr. Hasted, also had access to them, and derived much assistance from them in their several works.

We will give a summary of what they consist:—

A.D. 1168, claims between the Abbots of Saint Augustine and the Bailiffs of the city.

Records of the city, written in Latin, and on small rolls of parchment, from A.D. 1272.

A document, being a Terrar of lands in Ickham, dated A.D. 1172.

A.D. 1352, ordinances of the city, sealed with the seals of the Bailiffs.

Registers of wills and other documents on parchment or vellum, from 1258 to 1556, the most ancient being in Latin. Among these is the will of Lady Juliana Leybourn, in Norman-French, A.D. 1328. The earliest

English will is about the commencement of the sixteenth century. Henry Brokes' is dated 1536, and John Webbe's, dated 1550, is English with a Latin preamble or introduction.

These wills were proved in the Court at Canterbury.

The two Will Books contain many of the same wills, also other documents not testamentary. At the end of No. 2 is a list of the English Sovereigns, from William I. to Elizabeth, thereby showing this book was compiled as late as that Queen's reign, and that the earlier wills are copies from some older documents. The fact also that some of them are duplicates further proves this, I think.

The first will in No. 2 book is dated 1328; the last entry is 1578.

Book No. 2 begins with the same will as book No. 1. Mr. Bunce says this book commences with A.D. 1290, but I could not find this date. A portion of the latter part of the book is missing. There is an English will dated A.D. 1495. There is a composition in No. 2 between the city and the Abbey of St. Augustine, much interlined, dated 1258. Many of the previous documents are much older in date.

Records of the Court of Burghmote from 1301 to the present time, excepting from 1469 to 1479, which are lost.

Proceedings in the Court of "Pye Powder," between the Abbot of St. Austin's and the Parson of St. Paul's—no date.

A mandate from Henry I., under seal, accompanying a Proclamation.

7th Edward I., Pleas before the Justices in Eyre.

Magna Charta, sent to the City of Canterbury by King Edward I.

A curious old parchment book, with strings, and of small size, containing law cases and indictments in the time of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and the Queens, Mary and Elizabeth.

Amongst the actions and indictments occur prosecutions—

For *rustling* a man into the river.

For ploughing up a highway.

For murdering *one* with a stone.
For being absent from church.
For murdering an enfant.
For keeping a greyhound, and hunting.
For selling under a quart of beer for a penny.
For maintaining play at his house, &c., &c., &c.

A Burghmote book, dating from 1542 to 1579, given by Robert Browne, Sheriff, seems to be one of the earliest books in which the proceedings of the Court of Burghmote were recorded in English. The introduction or proem even here is in Latin. The Chamberlain's books were entered in Latin to a later date.

Ancient proceedings, loose parchment sheets, from 1272 to 1363; imperfect; collected and bound 1802.

Ancient book, imperfect, Escheators, 1505-1510, C. R. B.

Petition of the apothecaries, grocers, chandlers, fishmongers, against certain parties for infringing the orders of the Court; an ancient folding book.

Small folio book, commencing with the recital of the will of Roger Manwood, St. Stephen's Hospital, dated 1592.

In 1352 the orders of the Court were sealed with the seals of the Bailiffs.

A.D. 1421, conveyance from the Bailiffs of a piece of land.

In 1463 all orders were recorded on paper rolls.

A.D. 1501, receipt books, tolls of the shambles, &c., &c.
1510, do., tolls and receipts.

Articles between the Prior of Saint Gregorys' and the Mayor and Commonalty.

Bonds and agreements relating to the estates of the Poor Priests.

An agreement arising out of a lawsuit between the Abbot of Saint Augustines' and the Mayor and citizens.

Deeds of incorporation of guilds and fraternities.

Papers relating to the Walloons.

Ward rolls.

Letter from Charles II. requiring the Corporation to make William Turner their Mayor, A.D. 1660.

A.D. 1542, the orders of Burghmote were first recorded in books.

There are bundles of proclamations, Acts of Parliament, depositions, writs, law proceedings, leases of the city estates, bonds, court leet papers, &c.

Depositions respecting the breaking up of part of "Babb's Hill," taken before Richard Gaunt, Mayor, A.D. 1582.

Dated 1598, is an extract copied from an old book, said to have been dated A.D. 1194, alleged to have been in possession of Lord William Howard, and relating to the lands of Garswinton and Luckdale.

King Richard II.'s surety, dated 1398, to the Bailiffs for 100 marks. This, probably, was never redeemed by that unfortunate Monarch, or it would not have remained among the archives.

Ancient roll, showing that the house and lands of Saint Augustine are within the liberties of the city.

A.D. 1661, pleas in curia regis, and the curia of the Archbishop.

An old book of records, entries, &c., first date 1459.

A parchment book of pleas and judgments; small square book in Latin and English.

Book of Burghmote proceedings; loose sheets on parchment, from A.D. 1272 to A.D. 1373.

These are some of the most ancient documents.

I have not found all the above in the city archives. Some may have escaped attention, being perhaps bound up with other documents.

The following are the Royal Charters, conferring either additional privileges on the city, or confirming those already conceded by previous Sovereigns:—Charters of Henry II., Henry III.,* Edward I., Edward III., Richard II. (this is illuminated), Edward IV., Henry VI., Henry VII., Henry VIII., James I. This charter is handsomely illuminated. It cost the city, A.D. 1609, for expenses, fees, &c., 369*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*

Although Charles II., by his charter of 1684, destroyed the very life and existence of the municipal body, he introduced one or two novelties into his charter, as a compensation perhaps. He gave his newly appointed

* The term "ante conquestum," which often appears in ancient charters and wills, was employed to prevent confusion of persons, Edward the Confessor being sometimes called Edward I., and Edward, son of Henry III., Edward II.

Mayor and Aldermen power to hear and determine all charges of "sorcery, enchantment, fortune-telling, and magic," and power to make laws, and levy cesses and fines without giving any account for the same.

The charter of James II. was equally iniquitous. It remained, however, a very short time in operation.

We may note in respect of charters that William I. issued some of his charters in the Saxon language. Sometimes, however, a Latin salutation was prefixed, as "Ego Wilhelmus Rex saluto omnes meos Episcopes, Comites," &c. "The modes of signature and confirmation," observed the late Sir Henry Ellis, "varied occasionally. 'Thus I sign and confirm with Christ's rood token,' said Dunstan, in the document bearing his name." The Conqueror appears to have been the first Sovereign who adopted the style "Dei Gratia." Sometimes he used "Nutu Dei." The charter of the Saxon Æthelbert, between A.D. 676 and 694, commences "In nomine Domini nostri, Jesu Christi Salvatoris." Those of Offa and Æthelwolf omit "Salvatoris." A charter of Ædred, A.D. 946, commences "Concedente Gratia Dei, Anno Domini incarnationis." Most of these documents are prefixed with the sign of the cross. Sir H. Ellis further states, "That all Latin charters purporting to be of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, commencing with the name of the Monarch, are spurious. This specially applies to the so-called charter of King Ethelbert." The terms "Inspeximus" and "Vidimus," from which some documents derive their peculiar class, were not in use as royal styles until the time of Richard I. The term "Rex Angliæ" was not adopted until the reign of Henry I. The Conqueror styled himself "Rex Anglorum."

Architectural Works of Canterbury Cathedral.

Dated Examples, principally from Professor Willis' Description.

	Dates.
The nave, choir, crypt, transepts, and western towers, of Lanfranc; Norman	1070 to 1077.
Enlarged choir, eastern transept, crypt and Chapels of St. Andrew, St. Anselm, and Trinity Chapel; the work under Anselm and Priors Ernulf and Conrad. All of these are gone, except the Chapels of St. Anselm and of St. Andrew, the crypt, and the external walls of other portions; Norman	1096 to 1110.
The present choir and aisles; Norman, Early English, and Decorated	1175 to 1178.
Trinity Chapel, its crypt, Becket's crown; Early English	1179 to 1184.
Choir wall of enclosure, by Prior Henry de Estria; Early English	1304 to 1305.
Window of St. Anselm's Chapel	1336.
Chantry of the Black Prince	*circa*, 1363.
Nave, western transepts, and St. Michael's Chapel; Perpendicular	1378 to 1410.
Chantry chapel, and monument to Henry IV.	1412.
New Lady Chapel, Prior Goldstone	1449 to 1468.
The great central tower and buttressing arches, by Prior Goldstone II.; Perpendicular	1495 to 1517.
The south-west, Oxford, or St. Dunstan's tower, finished by Prior Goldstone; Perpendicular	*circa*, 1453.
Christ Church gate; Tudor	1517.
North-west or Arundel Tower, constructed on the site of the Norman tower, built by Lanfranc; Perpendicular	1833 to 1840.

Description of Canterbury Tokens.

1. O. Tho. Baker, cheesmongr—A hand holding a pair of scales.
   R. Of Canterbury, 1667—His dubble toaken.
2. O. Francis Banick—A wheatsheaf.
   R. In Canterbury—F. M. B.
3. O. Thomas Best, cooper—The Vintners' Arms.
   R. In Canterburye—1650—T. M. B.
4. O. Thomas Burden, of—A vase of flowers.
   R. Canterbury, 1667—His halfepenny—T. V. B.
5. O. John Carden, in—A role of bread.
   R. Canterbury, 1656—I. D. C.
6. O. Henry Carpenter—1667.
   R. In Canterbury—H. S. C.
7. O. Henrey Carpenter—1658.
   R. In Canterbery—H. S. C.

8. O. James Cheever—A hand holding a pair of shears.
   R. In Canterbury—1663, his half-peny.
9. O. James Cheever—A hand holding a pair of shears.
   R. In Canterbury—[16]62.
10. O. Tho. Enfield, in Mercery—The Grocers' Arms.
    R. Lane, in Canterbury, 1666—T. S. E.
11. O. Thomas Enfield, in Mercery—The Grocers' Arms.
    R. Lane, in Canterbury, 1666—T. S. E.
12. O. Anthony Fagg, grocer—The Grocers' Arms.
    R. In Canterbury—A. M. F.
13. O. Thomas Field, in—A Saracen's head.
    R. Canterbury, 1666—His half peny.
14. O. Edward Fray, in—The Tallow Chandlers' Arms.
    R. Canterbury, 1667—His half-peny, E. S. F.
15. O. Thomas Hutten, pewterer—The Pewteres' Arms.
    R. In Canterbury, 1669—A griffin, 1*d.* (octagonal).
16. O. Thomas Jeninges—His halfpeny.
    R. Of Canterbury, 1669—A man smoking and making candles.
17. O. Thomas Jenings, of—Grocers' Arms.
    R. Canterbury, grocer—T. B. J.
18. O. The Ship, in—A ship.
    R. Canterbury, 1653—M. S. K.
19. O. Francis Maplesden—A bunch of hops.
    R. In Canterbury, 1666—His half penny.
20. O. Walter Maplesden—A dove with an olive branch.
    R. In Canterbury—W. S. M.
21. O. Jeremiah Masterton, at—Chequers (octagonal).
    R. In Canterbury, his half peny—J. M. M. (in seven lines).
22. O. Thomas Mayne, grocer—A still.
    R. In Canterbury, 1664—T. M. M.
23. O. Thomas Mayne, grocer—A still.
    R. In Canterbury, 1654—T. M. M.
24. O. Thomas Ockman—The arms of the Ockman family; a fess between three argents—T. O.
    R. In Canterbury—His half peny.
25. O. At the Mairmayd—A mermaid.
    R. In Canterbury—D. M. R.
26. O. John Simpson—A lion rampant.
    R. In Canterbury, 1653—J. I. S.
27. O. Richard Smith—The Grocers' Arms.
    R. In Canterbury—R. E. S.
28. O. Sibb Smith, neer—S. S.
    R. Westgate, Canterb.—S. S.
29. O. Will Terrey, at the—Globe.
    R. Globe, in Canterbury—W. E. T.
30. O. At the 3 Kings—The Three Kings.
    R. In Canterbury—E. M. W.
31. O. Jarvise Willmott—A horse.
    R. In Canterbury, 1664—His halfpeny.
32. O. Thomas Best, cooper—The Vintners' Arms.
    R. In Canterbury, 1650—T. M. B.
33. O. The bullock at the bull—A bull's head.
    R. Head, in Canterbury—T. B.

34. O. Edward Craford, in—A black boy smoking.
R. Canterbury, grocer—E. B. C.
35. O. Thomas Ockman—The Ockman Arms—T. O. (See No. 24).
R. In Canterbury—T. E. O.
36. O. The Sarison's Head—A Saracen's head.
R. In Canterbury, 1653—M. P.
37. O. At the 3 Marrenors—Three seamen standing.
R. In Canterbury—T. M. S.
38. O. Joseph Sherwood, in—A woolpack.
R. Canterbury, grocer, 1653—J. A .S.
39. O. Richard White, barber—A comb.
R. In Canterbury, 1653—R. A. W.

The above represented halfpence or farthings.

List of Incised Monumental Brasses in the Churches of Canterbury.

Elphege, Saint.—Figure of a priest, dated A.D. 1457, now under the flooring of a pew. A brass inscription, "Thomas Prude," on a column, north side. See "Churches"—St. Elphege. An incised brass fronting the altar, to Robert Goseberne, clerk, dated 1563.

George, Saint.—Figure of a priest, John Lovelle, formerly Rector of the parish; died 14th April, A.D. 1438.

Margaret, Saint.—Male figure, John Winter, Mayor of Canterbury, A.D. 1470. It is recorded in the inscription that he placed a lamp to burn before the altar of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Martin, Saint.—Two figures, male and female, Michael Francis Sertivoli and Jane his wife. Only one date, 1587. Also an inscribed brass plate to Thomas Stoughton, who died 1591. Also, brass plate to Stephen Fulks and Alice his wife. One date, 1406. This is the oldest date on a monumental brass in Canterbury now extant.

Magdalen, St. Mary.—Two brasses—stolen. They were inscribed to Christopher Klook (draper, of the city) and Margareta his wife. Dates 1494-1495. See Plate No. 13.

Paul, Saint.—Two figures, George Winborne and Catherine his wife. One date, 4th April 1531, for the husband. This church is said to have had several brass inscriptions.

Northgate, St. Mary.—Mural brass. Inscription to Ralph Brown, Mayor of the City, A.D. 1507.

The Dimensions of the Cathedral and the Buildings connected therewith.

Name.	Length.	Breadth.	Height from Floor of Nave.
	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.
Arundel Tower - - -	31.3	30.0	157.2
Dunstan Tower - - -	31.3	30.0	156.8
Great Central Tower, or Angel Tower	40.8	40.8	235.9
Choir & Presbytery, from Choir Screen to Screen at Back of Altar Table -	225.6	38.5	70.6
South-East Transept - - -	54.8	31.0	70.6
North-East Transept - -	55.7	31.3	70.6
Nave - - - - -	188.10	35.3	78.3
North Aisle of Nave - - -	164.0	18.6	37.0
South Aisle of Nave - - -	164.0	18.6	37.0
Trinity Chapel and Aisles - -	72	68.6	62.0
Trinity Chapel without Aisles - -	55.11	31.3	62.0
Becket's Crown - - -	31.1	33.2	53.6
Chapter House - - - -	91.0	36.1	66.0
Cloisters - - - -	131.6	132.9	15.4
South-West Transept - - -	44.10	34.2	78.3
North-West Transept - -	43.10	34.5	78.3
Lady Chapel - - - -	37	21	36
St. Michael's Chapel- - -	34	21	29
Diameter of Becket's Crown - -		32	

Total length of Cathedral—511.9 interior ; 530.8 exterior.

Nearly all the above dimensions have been kindly supplied me from the Surveyor's Office. They differ slightly from some of the figures given by Hasted, Gostling, Willis, Woolnoth, and Walcott, who also differ occasionally from each other.

Illustrations—Order and Subjects.

No. of Plate.	No. of Objects.	Page.
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2	Bronze objects, styli (pin), implements, full size (10)	„
3	Objects in bronze (9); fibula, 2 and 5; statuette, 3; and girdle clasp, 7; all full size except No. 1	„
4	Pottery, ⅓ lineal size, 6 objects, except No. 4, ½ lineal size	„
5	Armillæ, in gold and in bronze, 6 objects, full size	„
6	Glass objects—statuette, No. 5, in white clay, ½ lineal size; No. 1, Glass rod, ½ lineal size; Nos. 3, 4, and 6, full size; No. 2, ¼ lineal size	„
7	Bronze objects, full size; fibulæ, pins, scutcheon	„
8	Stone moulds, half size	„
9	Roman brooches (enamelled) and A.S. ring, full size	„
10	Roman brooches (enamelled) full size	„
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Wood Cuts.

Old Church of St. Andrew; Nunnery of St. Sepulchre; Christ Church Gate, previous to the lowering of the towers; Matthew Paris' Sketch of the Cathedral; The Ducking Stool; The Steeple of St. George's Church.

Copper Plate Engravings.

St. Gregory; The Old Ridingate.

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